

The Commons

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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT
OF THE CONSOLIDATION OF
CHARITIES AND THE COMMONS
A JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ADVANCE

The cause for which **THE COMMONS** has stood of itself accounts for its existence and progress. Its editors and publishers have served that cause only, in their ten years' effort to establish the magazine upon a firm and independent basis. Its subscription list has never been so large, its circulation never wider or more influential, its friends never more loyal, its prospects for permanence and growth never brighter. Loyalty to its cause, however, has all along made manifest the fact that the scope and support available for such a periodical are far more adequate for one magazine, appealing to the spirit and meeting the needs of both East and West, than for two with more limited circulations.

The combination of **CHARITIES** and **THE COMMONS** has, therefore, long been considered desirable. They have always been in cooperation and never in competition with each other. But the way in which they have supplemented each other, has unexpectedly made their immediate combination possible and highly advantageous to both publications and to the subscribers and advertisers of each of them.

With the next issue **CHARITIES** and **THE COMMONS** will appear on the first Saturday in November with combined title, contents and editorial support. The expert knowledge and practical experience which has earned for **CHARITIES** the recognition of being the authoritative representative of the highest ideals and broadest spirit in charitable and reformatory effort, both public and private, and in the field of creative social work, will happily supplement **THE COMMONS** in its constructive insistence upon economic justice and fair industrial adjustments, the administrative efficiency of municipal government and the social extension of public education.

"**CHARITIES** and **THE COMMONS**" will thus unite in one stronger more widely circulated publication, the values for which each has been appreciated. The journal will be published from the New York City office, having its Western office at the address of **THE COMMONS**, 1001 Monadnock Bldg., Chicago.

The unexpired subscriptions of readers to **THE COMMONS** will be filled by the combined publication; and in the case of those who have taken both periodicals, the term of their former subscription to **CHARITIES** will be extended to a length of time commensurate to cover both subscriptions.

Graham Taylor

The Commons

Number 10—Vol. X

Chicago, October, 1905

Tenth Year

With The Editor

The attention of every reader is called to the important editorial announcement on the preceding page.

Time to Take Inventory of Trade Unions

It is time again for the public to take an inventory of organized labor. Its foes have been predicting that the beginning of its end is at hand. Some of its leaders act as though they thought it to be as strong as ever. What are the facts? What is the public to think? How are the working people, whose livelihood is involved, to size up its prospects? What have employers to reckon with in the unions? These are fair questions to raise just now. They demand just impartial and discriminating answers. They appeal to the facts of the present situation.

The Anthracite Coal strike fixes a point for comparison. Its arbitration at the national capital and by the interference of the nation's president gave the movement its widest renown, its greatest public favor, the power of prestige. Irrespective of these considerations, it was never stronger than then in numbers, financial resource, and in influence over its own members and with the public at large. Comparing its situation then and now, the whole

movement has unquestionably lost much. Its levelheaded leaders do not deny it. Most of the steadiest and sturdiest of its rank and file admit to themselves and those they trust that the unions have the fight of their lives now on hand. Many employers and most agents of their associations boast that they have their friends the enemy on the run.

What is the basis for these admissions and claims? How is the great change in the situation to be accounted for? Two of the most deservedly disastrous strikes in the history of the American labor movement are to be held largely accountable. That of the Colorado miners gave it the severest setback. The Western Federation of Miners, which was responsible for the incendiary lawlessness and violence of that strike, was detached from and not under the control of the American Federation of Labor. Nevertheless, partly because its violent tactics were not promptly and decisively repudiated by the National body the whole movement immeasurably lost the confidence of the American people because of this

border warfare of these radical secessionists. Even though they fought fire with fire they lost most by the rebellion against law and order, of which both sides were guilty. Almost, if not quite, as suicidal the Chicago teamsters' strike has proven to be. It may prove even more injurious, because neither the Chicago nor the American Federation of Labor interfered with the scandalous violation of their own constitution and legitimate trade unionism by the teamsters' leaders. This irresponsibility alarmed and aggressively united employers everywhere, and alienated the favor of the public, which in America loves fair play and hates injustice. Moreover, the defection of the teamsters' local unions from Shea's high-handed mal-administration of their national organization proves again that the majority of the union membership everywhere "won't stand for" roughshod leadership or unjust and violent strikes.

On the other side of the line, there has been a more formidably united and aggressive organization of employers than the unions have ever had to confront. But the unions themselves have made this not only possible, but even necessary. For the instinct of self-preservation compelled practically all employers in certain lines solidly to unite against an abuse of trade unionism, which threatened the very existence of their business. Their resort to the bribery of corrupt leaders has at least been extenuated by honest and in-

fluent trade-unionists as practically the only thing left for them to do, when held up. Whatever they might have done collectively to expose and oppose these hold-up men, individual employers and firms when ordered "to stand up and deliver," could only deliver bribes or risk the peril of their business lives.

It is, however, as great a mistake for employers or the public to imagine that there is little or nothing left of organized labor after such reverses, as it would be for trade unionists to be discouraged, much less in despair. Already "the movement" is showing itself, as always before, to be strangely stronger than its organization. In the long run even the most brow-beaten membership proves equal to throwing off conspiracies of corrupt officials, and to reassert their own rough sense of right. Even the long suffering, slow moving, badly betrayed teamsters are now in successful revolt against the infamous Shea administration. Some of the local unions openly defy him, and plan to reorganize him and his kind out of office. Their better leaders, who have all along opposed him are moving to have the courts appoint a receiver for the funds of the national organization, which would leave nothing in it for "the president." So it looks, when the balance is struck, that over against its temporary loss of prestige outside of and perhaps within its ranks, organized labor is to be recognized more than ever as a persistent fact, because of its capacity to purge itself of con-

tempt, and to survive and outgrow its inherent weakness and wrongs.

It would seem then to be in line with the logic of events, and the part of sheer common sense not only to make the best of it, but to help it make the best of itself.

Training For Public Duty

Offering definite training for specific public duties is a new and sorely needed adventure of educational faith. It is being ventured at the great centers of the old world and the new, where community interests most tax the inadequate personal resources available, and suffer dire peril and irretrievable loss, because of the lack of citizens, trained to serve them effectively. The training schools thus arising are born also of an assured faith, that their offer to supply this training will create the demand for it, not only upon the part of institutions and agencies needing more efficient helpers, but also upon the part of capable young men and women willing to fit themselves for such volunteer or professional service.

Although, so far, this movement is identified in the public mind principally with the service of organized charity, it is by no means to be limited to that sphere of public duty. No small part of the duty every one owes to the public is demanded by the obligation to relieve the destitute and care for the dependent. It would be a great gain to all citizenship to make the average citi-

zen realize this fact. For, whoever begins to do so in private philanthropy, will inevitably be led to see and take the part which the public charities demand of every citizen. The County Agent will be recognized as our own, through whom we are doing the duty incumbent upon ourselves, which must be done, if at all, through another. The Poor House, supported by our taxes, will become to us, the house we are keeping to shelter the poor, for whose proper care we are individually and collectively responsible. If we realize these facts we will not only want to have our agents trained to discharge our obligations effectively, but we will want to train ourselves, so that we may at least know what ought to be done, and how it may most efficiently be attempted. Our interest in an orphan asylum child, or a wayward boy in a Sunday school class leads straight toward the co-operation we should give in the establishment and administration of the Juvenile Court system in our own town. Thus to individualize public duty, to extend it to others than "public men," office holders, voters, and the comparatively few public spirited individuals or groups who are everywhere left to struggle under the self-imposed burden of it, is in itself an immense service, both to the state and every individual in it.

Of course, this may rightly be considered the function of schools, especially public schools and state universities, and also of churches, and of fami-

lies. And they should each and all be held far more strictly accountable for fulfilling this function of theirs by the public and persons to whom they owe it. But these "schools of philanthropy" and of broader social and industrial service, are none the less needed to raise the standard, to broaden the type, and generate the spirit of public duty. However much more widely other agencies may and should do so, these schools, always to be mainly dependent upon specialists at work upon the field, will be able to offer such a definitely practical as well as technical training, as the community must rely upon them for, and even the universities must co-operate with them to furnish. To gain and increase their hold, however, the specialized training offered at these new centers should not be too strictly limited to technical "charity" work. It should meet the more diverse demands for volunteer helpers and leaders in children's clubs, social settlements, the "institutional" work of churches, the shop secretaries of industrial plants, probation officers of Juvenile courts, friendly assistants of discharged prisoners, the intelligent conduct of local improvement associations, the helpful visitation of public institutions, the state charities aid movement and many kindred lines of social effort. Moreover, to preoccupy their ground and prevent the rise of small and inefficient competitors, the better equipped schools at the greater centers should at once project correspondence courses, and extension classes in outlying towns

and cities. Thus only can the higher sense and larger type of public duty, of which they are now the foremost expression, be coined and given currency, as the coin current of the larger realm, which they are destined to dominate.

Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals

We take pleasure in editorially calling attention to the very real addition to the literature of social psychology, and that of the religious experience, which is reviewed at length in another column. Professor Davenport has placed sociological science as well as the Christian churches under obligation to him, for his exceedingly able, thorough, suggestive and practically helpful treatment of "Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals." While any scientific handling of the fact and forces of faith will be resented with suspicion by a small and decreasing minority within the church and ministry, an ever increasing majority are only too grateful for any such help to discriminate between the essential realities and the passing excrescences of the religious experience. Nothing so effectively suggests to the church the service it may expect at the hand of practically scientific sociologists, as such a reverent, yet thorough going piece of constructive criticism.

A Science No Longer "Dismal"

To Carlyle's arraignment of being "the dismal science" political economy has always returned at least the Scotch

verdict, "not proven." But the younger generation of political economists, ably though daringly represented by Professor Fetter of Cornell University, are leaving no ground for the charge.

His "Principles of Economics" surprises one by the omission of the conventional divisional terms, which have so long been in stereotyped use. But it is refreshing to do your reading under such sub-titles as: "The Value of Human Services," "The Social Aspects of Value," "The Relation of Private Income to Social Welfare," The author's practical purpose to start on common ground with his readers, in order to lead them, with an already kindled interest, into the more forbidding, but none the less essential, complexities of the subject, is certainly promoted thereby. The volume itself was the happy outcome of starting in just this way to arouse his own students to "strenuous thinking."

Two unique features light up the contents of the book from cover to cover. One is its consistently psychological analysis of the subjective relations of goods to wants. It was this process that threw out the use and order of the terms "production," "exchange," "distribution," and "consumption," which divide almost all the older discussions of value. At the expense of parting with "the economic man" the author realizes his aim to make the principles and conclusions of the science more applicable to the ac-

tual man in the real world. "If it arrives at any conclusion, any truths, these cannot fail to affect the practical action of men." Thus he makes bold to affirm his own ideal of his science. But the fact must be remembered, which he does not forget, that the real world is a far better and cheerier world for the workers now, than when political economy was born only a hundred years ago. That lifts most of the old gloom. For then it was assured by the "orthodox" economists "that population would always increase so fast as to force labor into a bare subsistence." And the socialists as harshly added their corollary, that capitalists absorb all the benefits of progress. To both of these theorists Professor Fetter makes the rejoinder, "Economics today is not especially lugubrious, and its more cheerful note is due, as well to its changed theory of value, as to the evidence of advancing welfare among the masses."

The other hopeful note, more clearly and firmly struck by him, than in any other volume that ranks with his in scientific value, is the avowal of the essentially social nature and democratic aim of economic study. "Political Economy is not the science of wealth-getting for the individual, a gospel of mammon," he affirms, but "in the main the study of political economy is a social study for social ends, and not a selfish study for individual advantage." Certainly students, who enter upon their study of the science

through this more social and democratic idea of it, have at least the opportunity afforded them of putting the advantages it gives them to this worthier use. And those who share the author's "love of truth and of democracy," in which he wrote this volume, will be surer than ever because of his work, that truth and democracy are interchangeable terms in economic as in social science.

George MacDonald, Humanizer of Religion

It is hard to think of George MacDonald as growing old and dying. But he left us at 81, the other day, so the brief dispatch from London says. He was so vital, that it hardly seemed he could die away from fellow men, whom he loved so well. He was so human that we can scarcely imagine him as anywhere except among human kind. The world he left will always be the less lonely for the strong, sweet, simple humans born into it, from the red blood of his heart through the pure white pages of his books. His Robert Falconer, and Sir Gibbie, and many another impersonation of his own character, are life-long friends of ours and will be of our children.

He studied for the ministry, but ceased to minister to a single parish, to become preacher, not only, but pastor as well, all over the English speaking world, by his heart-to-heart ministry through his writings. He may not have been a theologian, but he set the standard of the orthodoxy of the spirit for his generation. He may not have been scientific, but he was wonderfully human. He was not ecclesiastical, but he humanized religion, and thus made it more divine. He was not an exegete, but he made the gospel

more livable and its miracle working power in character more realizable to many. None of the creeds quite labeled him, but he lived out and loved in the Christian spirit of all of them. He was more individual than social in his insight and outlook upon life, but he flooded all human relationships with the light and warmth of the Christ-life itself. He was, like his Master, so much more of a man than most of us, that we thought of him always, and ever shall, as Christ-like.

Partisan Politics Responsible for Official Bribe Takers

We are constrained to take issue with Mr. Roberts' excellent article on another page, in declaring it to be "fallacious that municipal corruption is due to the stolid allegiance of partisan voters to national parties, and that the separation of municipal from state and national issues is a panacea." He bears down none too hard on the offerers of bribes, but he is far too easy on bribe takers. For every one who practically knows the inside of municipal corruption is aware what bold highwaymen some of these bribe takers are. Most of them by no means wait to be offered the bribe. They demand the money or the business life of the bribe givers. Their conspiracies are reduced to a hold-up brokerage system, with regular rates, and a cashier to be "seen" regarding them. The election and retention in office of such men as have put a premium upon bribery everywhere, is principally due to just "that stolid allegiance of partisan voters" to the dominance of their party, which forestalls any discrimination at the polls and therefore all independence of the party bosses.

Real Causes of Municipal Corruption

By Dr. John B. Roberts, of Philadelphia

"What is needed now is recognition of the fact that our bad government is due to the men within the circle of our own friends and associates. The Ward leaders, the division workers and the poverty-stricken voters of the slums are merely the tools with which our acquaintances rob us of our liberties and unnecessarily increase our taxes."

It is claimed by many that corruption in a city is due to the stolid allegiance of partisan voters to national party, and that separation of municipal from state and national issues is the panacea. That this is fallacious is evident from the fact that state and national governments are as honeycombed with corruption as city councils. The unprejudiced observer will find the same deals, the same lobbies, the same bribery, the same corruption in Congress, in legislatures, and in town councils.

Some superficial thinkers consider the impecunious and ignorant voter, who is bought by campaign funds, the factor which is to be eliminated to insure honest elections. They believe that cessation of political assessment of office holders, prevention of sale of votes, and disorganization of bands of paid repeaters would work a political millennium.

Those who hold this view see only the puppets and fail to recognize the intellectual and educational strength which is required to effectively move them. Successful political corruption requires acumen, strategy, mental equipment, and courage of the highest type. These qualities are not found in the ignorant classes, but are the characteristics of men of affairs.

It is neither the love of party nor the intellectual deficiency of the vote-seller that permits the election frauds of the present day. These character-

istics are not sufficient to drive the average citizen to spontaneous activity.

PERSONAL SELFISHNESS AND INDIFFERENCE.

The basic causes of corrupt politics are personal selfishness and indifference to the rights of others. What cares the manufacturer for the economic principles of political parties, if he can succeed in having a high tariff or a state license exclude competition? What matters it to the supplier of coal or petroleum how soon a rival corporation becomes bankrupt, if he can force a secret rebate from the railroad, which carries the product of both? Does anybody believe that the ignorant voter, who sells his vote, is an unsolicited salesman? A much higher intelligence is needed to organize the systematic buying and selling of votes which elects judges, legislators and officers, and enacts laws. It demands for its success the same type of mind as is found in the captains of industry and the presidents of great corporations. The leaders of the corrupt political system of a city and the heads of the industrial and corporate enterprises, which are its pride, are often the same individuals. Hence it is so difficult to root out political vices. The men who are seen on the surface are not the real criminals. The latter are respected merchants, trusted bankers, successful manufacturers, envied doctors, well-known lawyers; and even men of con-

spicuous religious habits, who hypocritically pose as, and pass for, honorable citizens.

The present interest taken in municipal affairs by patriotic citizens makes it necessary to consider this phase of the question. Much energy will be wasted and worthy enthusiasm will be cooled, if the attempts to reform Philadelphia, for instance, are restricted to the elimination of partisanship, the conviction of sellers of votes at twenty-five cents each, and the defeat of candidates of the machine for city offices.

THE PROSECUTION OF BRIBERS.

The cure of city corruption would be almost instantaneous, if reform committees, citizens' unions and municipal leagues would secure evidence of bribery, bring to trial and secure conviction of the president and directors of a single large railroad or electric lighting company; or the officers of a bank or trust company that gives illegal interest to officials.

Such a course of action will necessarily require most astute detective service, the employment of legal counsel of the highest and most incorruptible character, and the expenditure of large sums of money. It must be admitted at the start that men who will bribe councils, legislatures, congressmen and courts will not hesitate to bribe the detectives and lawyers employed by any reform organization which attempts to put in jail the leaders of society, the pillars of the church, the promoters of charity, and the skillful of the professions.

The influence and means of the political criminals of whom I speak are almost boundless; but they can be dragged down from their apparently secure position, if courage, intelligence

and integrity are reinforced by sufficient funds.

What is needed now is recognition of the fact that our bad government is due to men within the circle of our own friends and associates. The ward leaders, the division workers and the poverty-stricken voters of the slums are merely the tools with which our acquaintances rob us of our liberties and unnecessarily increase our taxes. Why try to convict of petty criminalities these unimportant persons? If they should perchance be convicted, they are willing to take the penalty of the law and receive reward from our friends for vicarious suffering.

JAIL, NOT FINES, NEEDED.

It is not great inconvenience to such convicted ones to pay a fine, contributed by our financial and business colleagues for protection from personal disgrace. Even should they suffer imprisonment, they need not despair; for are they not taken care of with the contributions of powerful corporations, and as soon as their enforced vacation at government expense is ended are they not given a good job at a fair wage by your friends and mine?

It is well enough to work for the improvement of city charters, the systematizing of municipal accounts, personal registration of voters, a true Australian ballot, the defeat of unworthy candidates, and the prevention of ballot frauds. These aims are worthy, but we must shoot at a higher mark. I hope to live to see a railroad president or two, three or four directors of public service corporations, and a couple of lawyers or bank presidents landed in jail, notwithstanding the frantic efforts of high-priced lawyers and physicians to save them by legal technicali-

ties and certificates of mental aberration.

GETTING AT THE REAL CULPRITS.

Criticism has heretofore been aimed at the wrong persons. It has been blaming the bribe-takers instead of the bribe-givers, the "hush-money" handlers instead of the "hush-money" raisers; the political servants of the corporations instead of the directors of banks, hospitals, railroads and public utility corporations who employ them. The first state that enacts a law to punish the bribe-giver and to allow the bribe-taker who gives effective evidence to go free, will be the first commonwealth to have good city governments.

"SUCCESS"—ITS ROTTEN STREAK.

The difficulty in obtaining honest political conduct is the want of self-respect and honesty in the bulk of citizens. A notable absence of independence in thought and action seems to be characteristic of our present civilization. Men subordinate fundamental, ethical principles to successful accomplishment. Any action whose illegality or immorality can be successfully concealed is safe and therefore worthy of adoption.

The motto upon which we fix our eyes is:—"Nothing succeeds like success." Business men argue that acts are not to be condemned unless they are illegal under federal or state law; ministers contend that money may be used to convert the pagan without consideration as to the manner in which it was obtained by the donor; memorial churches may be built with ill-gotten gains; consulting surgeons may give, and family physicians may accept, secret commissions for "steering" patients to the operating-room, and

lawyers may conduct suits for personal injury for a percentage of the amount obtained.

ETHICS AND STATUTE LAW.

Many men seem to no longer remember that ethics and morals are older than statute law, and that even boys have been punished for an unsatisfactory answer to the question: "Where did you get it?" It is at least possible that a lawyer who has packed one jury to acquit a political offender may pack another to give a big verdict against a railroad company and thus increase his 40 per cent contingent fee. It is credible that a doctor might prefer to direct his patients to an unskilled operator, who paid 30 per cent, than to one who considered such secret commissions dishonorable. "Life's" method of telling which of two rich men had the most money by observing with whom the Bishop first shook hands is evidently the result of competent observation.

THE REAL CAUSE IS CORPORATE BRIBERY.

The real cause of political corruption, then, is corporate bribery. This is made possible by men's love of gain and power, and their desire to be business or social magnates. The standard of life seems to be not worth, but success and notoriety. The wish to imitate those with more means or more influence stimulates the lust for money. The simple life has no attractions, when our neighbors lead the high life. It takes money to do things that count in the vulgar estimate, and gold must therefore be obtained at any sacrifice of principle. The man who puts a bill through the city council or the state legislature is the man who gets results; and he is therefore successively

agent, manager, secretary, director, vice-president and president of his corporation. The wife whose husband is successful in the financial sense becomes a local magnate in many feminine circles. His standard of business and professional ethics need not concern her any more than it does him. He is a captain of industry, of finance or of transportation. She and her daughters in ball costume have their photographs reproduced in the newspapers for the accommodation of any vulgar reader. What matters it if the husband's name is a byword for chicanery; and the portrait of his daughter adorns the wall of a student's room or of a saloon, hanging between that of the popular ballet dancer and the last champion of the prize-ring?

It is this indifference to the finer

sensibilities and this love of money with its coincident vulgar display that are back of the struggle for success. Worldly success is often the sole key to financial and social advancement. Hence corporate success must be obtained, even by bribery. Bribes by corporations make political rottenness. Political rottenness makes for most of us taxes high, streets unclean, water unfit to drink, disease rife, death common, and condemnation in the next world fairly certain.

Political liberty must therefore be obtained by attacking bribery and graft in its high seats. We must bring down the big game; and at the same time inculcate in ourselves a respect for honesty and a disregard for the mere outward symbols of wealth and power.

The Fisherman of San Francisco Bay

The Monopoly of an Industry by Greeks, Italians and Chinese

By Henry A. Fisk.

Headworker of the People's Place, Social Settlement, San Francisco.

The foreigner in America is no new type. We all know that he is here and that he continues to come at the rate of about a million a year. The fact of this large foreign element in our population, giving rise, as it does, to many of our social, economic and political problems, justifies us in examining one industrial class, which, though small, is composed practically entirely of foreigners. This class is the fishermen of San Francisco Bay.

Two of the most ancient and prim-

itive occupations of mankind are undoubtedly hunting and fishing. Of these, hunting has largely ceased as an occupation, and is reserved only for Presidential recreation and the relaxation of over-taxed brain-workers. But the fisherman is still here as a factor in the industrial world. In times past, this calling was one of the most honorable. It would be hard to estimate how much the world owes to the fisherman. We cannot forget that the first four men chosen to bear the world's greatest mes-

sage of peace and love and good-will were fishermen. This suggests an interesting economic fact. The time was when the fisherman was among the most intelligent and progressive of the industrial class. But whereas, in almost all other branches of industry, the effect of science and art has been felt, and skill and invention have produced great changes, fishing remains as it was. Farming, mining, building and stock-raising now demand a degree of scien-

in the commercial life of our own country.

PRESENT STATE.

The fishing industries of the United States employ 200,000 persons and the amount of capital invested is about \$60,000,000, while the annual value of the product of the fisherman is about \$50,000,000. In the State of California there are more than four thousand men engaged in the fishing business, with an



Italians and their Fishing-boat Homes

tific knowledge undreamed of a thousand or even a hundred years ago, but fishing is still fishing, and it takes as little scientific knowledge to be a good fisherman to-day as it did when the sons of Zebedee plied their trade in the blue waters of Galilee. As a result, fishermen as a class have fallen behind the other members of the industrial community in their general average of intelligence and progressiveness. Still the business of fishing is an important factor in the work of the world as well as

invested capital of something over \$3,000,000. The yearly output is more than 75,000,000 pounds, and is valued at over two and a half million dollars.

By far the greater part of this industry centers in the city of San Francisco and the waters of the Bay. San Francisco is the premier fish city of the United States. From sea, bay, lake, river, creek and pond it has a more bountiful supply and a greater variety of fish than can be found in any other of our cities. The first fishermen of

San Francisco Bay were disappointed gold hunters who cast their lines into the waters, hoping thereby to replenish their fortunes, for fish were as good as gold in those days. It was not long before some of the dusky-skinned fisher-folk from the Mediterranean arrived and fitted themselves out with boats and nets. The disappointed gold hunters had again to seek another occupation, for these new comers could catch more fish in one day than they could in a month. To-day the fishing industry of the State is almost entirely in the hands of foreigners. Only in one small branch, that of trout fishing, is the American found.

OLDEST CIVILIZATIONS FISHING.

It is an interesting fact to know that the descendants of three of the most ancient civilizations of the world, the Chinese, the Greek and the Roman, furnish practically all the fishermen of San Francisco Bay. Let us look for a moment at the most ancient of these, the Chinese. Stepping into an electric launch at the foot of Market street, in less than an hour one may run alongside of a Chinese fishing junk in San Pablo Bay and find himself back in ancient history. Had Rip Van Winkle fallen asleep a thousand years ago in one of the fishing junks of the China Sea and awakened last week in a Chinese shrimp boat of San Francisco, he would still feel at home. There would be the same triangular sail, the same windlass, the same almond-eyed, long haired men with garments as of yore.

In the Chinese fishermen we have an example of as complete a monopoly as is to be found in any trade or occupation. The Chinese are the shrimp fishers of San Francisco Bay, and they have complete control of the business.

It is an interesting fact that here in American territory is carried on a complete monopoly by foreigners (now practically forbidden entrance to this country) and that the product of this industry is nearly all shipped back to the mother country. Even the shells of the shrimps are pressed and sent to China for fertilizing purposes. At the present time China is levying upon us for an important food supply without patronizing American labor for food, clothing or apparatus. Even the nets are made in China, expressly for catching shrimps in California.

CHINESE TAKING SHRIMPS, BUT NOT

CIVILIZATION.

While this aspect of the case may not be so serious as some would make out, let us ask if the Chinese when they take our shrimps, take anything else back to China. Very little indeed. This is the phase of the problem with which we are most concerned sociologically. What does America with its civilizing and enlightening influences do for these foreigners? Probably far less than for any other class that touch our shores. There are special reasons for this. Chinese fishers live in camps or settlements (we can hardly dignify them by the latter term, however) at a considerable distance from the centers of population. The principal camp is known as the San Rafael Fishery and is five miles from the nearest town. Consequently, Chinese fishermen do not come even in physical contact with our civilization, and for all socially up-lifting influences, might almost as well be living in China. As they do not possess the ballot, they are not even sought out by the politicians—those self-sacrificing and wonderfully illuminating forces of American civilization.

On the other hand they have very little influence upon the current of American life. Many of them live in the fishing camps year after year without ever leaving them. Once a year there is a financial settlement and most of them go to the city where they are lost in Chinatown and their money spent in the devious ways of the oriental. So far as a spirit of neighborliness or social service is concerned, there is absolutely no effort made to touch these

and in the waters of the lower Sacramento River, may be seen numbers of little house-boats, or arks, as they are termed. These are the homes of the sturdy fishermen from Southern Greece. The Greek fisherman has his special characteristics. To begin with, he lives almost exclusively in his ark, which is anchored close in shore, often resting in the mud. This ark is generally from twelve to twenty feet long, and from ten to sixteen feet wide. It has sev-



Chinese Shrimp-fisher Boiling Shrimps

Chinese fishermen. There is not even any missionary activity among them. A deputy fish commissioner visits them yearly to collect the license tax, but otherwise they are left severely alone, except, perhaps, when they may occasionally be arrested for violating the fish laws.

THE GREEKS.

Now let us consider the second class of fishermen, the Greeks. Nestled among the reeds and rushes along the northern shore of San Francisco Bay

and consists of one, or at most, two rooms. For actual cubic space the rooms will compose unfavorably with the tenement house, but for fresh air and sunshine they stand ahead of the brown stone front.

Looking at our Greek fisherman from the social standpoint, we find first that he is a man without a family—at least he has no family in this country. Not over five or six per cent. of the Greek fishermen are married. He is a good

illustration of the fact that the family is the corner stone of our civilization and of our national life. With his binding ties in the old country, with no family, and living in an ark, he has little real attachment for his adopted country, and no incentive to save his earnings and invest them in a homestead. Two men generally live together in an ark, and are partners in fishing. Few of them speak much English, yet most of them are naturalized, and exercise the franchise. They are for the most part very illiterate, so they read no papers or books.

The general reputation of the Greek fisherman is not good. In the words of a state deputy fish commissioner, "The Greek fisherman is a bad egg. He is a natural born thief." The Greeks are nearly all good seamen, many of them having served in the American navy. They combine American tricks and Greek manners, and like many crosses, the result is a vicious product. The Greek is extremely clannish. When he chooses a fishing ground, he does not expect any one else to come that way. Having selected a point along the shore at which to commence fishing, a number of boats begin to put out their nets, one after the other at intervals of from fifteen to twenty minutes and let them float or drift down with the tide or current. The point of starting is called the head of the drift. Here a white rag with blue stripes on it, representing the Greek flag, is stuck up and this means to all the world, especially to the Italian fishermen: "Beware! You trespass in this water at your peril."

SOCIALIZING FORCES.

When we ask what are the socializing forces touching this class, we find they

are few indeed. They have what is known as the Hellenic Philanthropic Benevolent Society, which renders assistance in sickness or at death, but as a socially uplifting or enlightening force, it counts practically for nothing. The one institution which exercises any elevating influence upon these men is the church and she does so at very long range, and the binding ties are very weak. All of the Greeks belong to the Greek Orthodox church, and confess a more or less binding allegiance to her. For a long time, they worshiped at the Russian Greek church, but recently they sent to Greece and brought out their own priest and built a small church in San Francisco. As most of the fishermen live from twenty-five to one hundred miles from San Francisco, and as the priest never visits them, the influence of this institution is not great. Yet they recognize their financial obligations and observe some of their religious customs and duties, especially at Easter time, with considerable punctiliousness.

The only other socializing influence that touches them is the law. This takes concrete form in the person of a deputy fish commissioner who may drop suddenly down upon them and who always stands at the right end of a gun. The socializing force of the law is rather a negative quality however, and we find that the Greek fisherman, living his isolated life, with few, if any, neighbors with whom he cares to associate, with no papers or books, with no one to visit him or take an interest in his existence, so far as society is concerned. In fact, though he helps to supply our table with fish, we do not know him, we care nothing for him, and only think of him when some crime more atrocious than usual calls attention to his existence.

THE ITALIANS.

By far the largest class of people engaged in the fishing business in and about the waters of San Francisco Bay are Italians. They are not only the most numerous, but are increasing and gradually driving the other nationalities, except the Chinese, out of the business. The Italians are composed of two classes, the Genoese and the Sicilians. The Genoese are far fewer in numbers but are much more intelligent and higher

of Martinez. It will be sufficient for the purposes of this paper to study them at the two points, Black Diamond and North Beach. These two centers afford also an excellent illustration of the difference between city and country environment.

COUNTRY ENVIRONMENT.

At Black Diamond there is a community of some 2,000 people, which, until quite recently, was made up almost



Greeks Mending Nets

socially than the Sicilians. They cause little trouble, are reliable, and are the more enterprising and capable in a business way. The two classes mingle freely and often the Genoese is the business agent for the Sicilians. Most of the Sicilian fishermen are located either in San Francisco in what is known as the Latin Quarter at North Beach, or near the head waters of the Bay at a point called Black Diamond, or near the town

entirely of Sicilian fisherfolk. In the Latin Quarter of San Francisco there is a similar community. These people, coming from the coasts of Sicily, have been trained to the sea in the Italian navy and have, in most cases, been fishermen before coming to America. Physically they have great endurance. A Genoese, speaking of the hardihood of the Sicilians, said: "They stay out in their boats all night and frequently for

several days. They take a little stew or chowder with them called *cinpirio*, made of lard, onions, garlic, tomato and conserva, seasoned with pepper and salt. At night, or when not fishing, they curl up in the fore part of the boat. They have a skin like a green turtle and never take cold." Up to the coming of the Americans two years ago, there was not enough sickness at Black Diamond to support a doctor.

In the same community, only one man is known as a drunkard. This does not mean that the Sicilian does not drink. Every Italian drinks wine, and when he goes fishing his *demijohn* of sour wine is as much a part of his outfit as his seine or his string of hooks, but he does not get drunk. If on shore he imbibes too freely, he goes home or is taken home to sleep it off. He does not gamble as does the Greek, nor does he spend much time in the saloon.

Generally speaking, the Sicilians are thrifty, live within their means, and save money for a rainy day. There are few beggars or loafers among them. They show a humane spirit toward the really needy, and toward the aged. Contrary to the general opinion they are not a law-breaking class. Life and property are comparatively safe among them. At Black Diamond there is not even a lawyer. The district attorney does not visit the town once in two years and the justice of the peace could not make a living were it not that he is a notary and gets fees for witnessing papers. They make very good American citizens, yet they show some interesting anomalies of good citizenship. They are loyal to Italy, though as a rule they take very little interest in things beyond their immediate environment. Of a broader public spirit or patriotism they know nothing. Very

few of them care to return to Italy to live. For literature they care nothing. They have no books, and though *L'Italia*, which claims to be the largest Italian daily in the United States with the widest circulation is published in San Francisco, few of the fishermen take it. The reason is that like the Greek fishermen, they are decidedly illiterate. Usually they cannot read or write their own language, much less can they read, write or speak English. They are all Roman Catholics in religion, but aside from the observance of Christmas, Easter and St. Joseph's Day (St. Joseph seems to be the patron saint of the fishermen) religion has no great hold upon them, and the church does not figure very prominently in their lives.

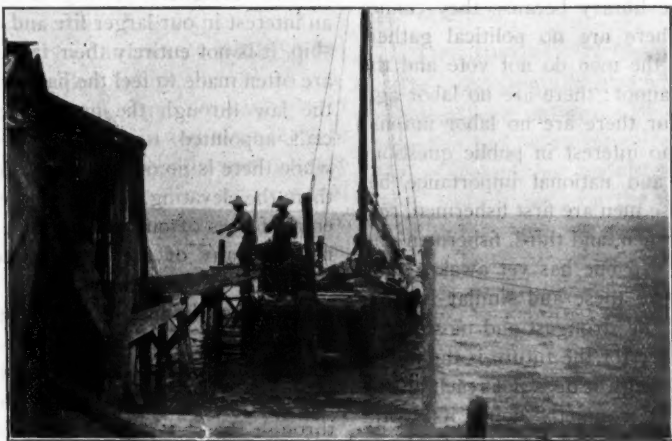
Their social life is very simple. They seem to have few amusements and few gatherings of a genuine social character. There are occasional Sunday picnics and some national fete days, but little else. At Black Diamond there is a small theatre. One rarely finds a musical instrument in their homes, and yet though there is so little music among them, they seem to enjoy it when they have the opportunity. They are a people of strong domestic instincts. When he comes to this country, the Sicilian fisherman first saves enough money to buy a fishing boat and equipment. This takes from five to seven hundred dollars. His second effort, providing he does not live in San Francisco where land is high, is to secure a little piece of real estate. Next, if he has a family at home, he purchases tickets and sends for them. If he is single, he marries here. He then borrows money or secures a loan from a lumber company, sufficient to put up a little house. Consequently, at Black Diamond, most of the fishermen live in their own

homes. Many of the younger unmarried men live in arks on the water.

IN THE CITY.

In San Francisco, conditions are quite different. Here scarcely any of them own their own homes, whole families of from five to ten in number, live in tenements of two or three rooms. There are no yards, and the children have no place to play except the street. There is a general condition of dirt and

and talk and occasionally drink wine. When first approached by a stranger they may be a little suspicious, but their confidence is easily won. They are quite eager to learn to sew, to read and to write, and are extremely appreciative of whatever is done for them. The great hope for these people lies in their teachableness, but no one has yet come to them in a genuine spirit of brotherly helpfulness.



Chinese Shrimp-fishers and Smack

Not only are these boats with their entire rigging and tackle brought from China, but the entire catch is sent back to the Orient down to the shrimp-shells which are used in China for fertilizer.

squalor which does not prevail outside of the city. When we visit these simple almost child-like people in their homes, we at once see where their greatest need lies. The bareness, the general untidiness and shiftlessness, combined with their genuine hospitality and confiding openness, make us feel their need for education. Ignorance lies at the bottom of their need.

The women, not knowing how or what to do, spend a great deal of time idly gossiping on the door-steps or in the streets. They are great visitors and so congregate in one another's houses

With the children the possibilities are even greater. The Sicilians have a numerous offspring, and at Black Diamond the children attend the public school more regularly than in San Francisco. The boys, however, soon learn to crawl into the boats and follow their fathers in the fishing business. In the city the children are left to go it alone, pretty much as they like, or are early pressed into service as bread-winners. They peddle fish, lemons, matches, or similar commodities, and as soon as they are old enough to earn twenty-five cents a day, they are likely to be

sent to work in the factories,—or were until the last legislature passed a child labor law. The girls marry early, often at fourteen or fifteen years of age, and it is easy to imagine with the training they have had, what kind of mothers they will make.

The Sicilians, thus left largely to themselves, have few socializing forces indeed at work among them. They take no papers, nor do they patronize the public library because they cannot read. There are no political gatherings, for the men do not vote and the women cannot; there are no labor agitations, for there are no labor unions; there is no interest in public questions of state and national importance because these men are first fishermen, second fishermen, and third, fishermen and Italians. No one has yet awakened to the needs of these and similar isolated groups. The strongest and most hopeful influence for the future is the public school. Though it does not reach all the children, it is quietly doing its work, and this is bound to tell on the next generation.

To sum up, the Fishermen of San Francisco Bay are a distinctive class in

the industrial population. They come from the countries of Southern Europe bordering the Mediterranean Sea, or from the sea coasts of far-off Cathay. The process of transforming them into Americans is slow. Even when they stay here, they are still foreigners. In habits, tongue, dress, customs, they are unchanged. They live very much the same kind of lives as in their native lands. But if these industrious hard-working people remain foreigners, if they fail to take an interest in our larger life and citizenship, it is not entirely their fault. They are often made to feel the harsh hand of the law through the government officials appointed to care for the fish, while there is no one appointed to bring them the elevating, refining and enlightening forces of our civilization. Fortunately, many of the rising generation are being reached through the public schools, but infinitely more could be accomplished if a more direct effort were made to reach the homes and lives of these people. If this cannot be done through the state, certainly there is an earnest call resting upon all of us for the exercise of a larger spirit of brotherhood and neighborliness and social interest.

Organized Charity and Organized Labor

By Graham Taylor

An Address before the National Conference of Charities and Correction

In discussing the relation between Organized Charity and Organized Labor emphasis is laid, for the purpose of this occasion, wholly upon the practical nature of that relationship. However we may differ as to social ideals or sentiments and the economic and ethical principles at issue none can deny the existence and persistence of organized labor as a fact to be reckoned with by every material interest or body of people involved in its very intrusive and extensive relationships.

As people who have set ourselves to face the facts of life and meet them in a spirit, all the more human because scientific and businesslike, we need first of all to recognize the fact of the organization of labor as one to be reckoned with by us if our own ideals and methods are to realize themselves among the people.

BOTH MOVEMENTS OF LIFE.

From our own point of view in modern philanthropy it is a hopeless misconception to regard the organization of labor as any less of a movement of human life than the organization of philanthropy. Its spontaneous rise, its extraordinary persistence against all odds, its capacity to outlive the weaknesses, betrayals, injustices of its organizations, its steady development through the flexibility of life itself to adjust its forms to changing conditions, impress the student of its history and literature, who is also in first hand touch with the life it is now expressing and the history it is now making, as far more a movement of life than a mere organization. As a whole no organization has had less leadership or at times

and places worse leadership. It is the movement of the mass, not of any man or set of men. Here a man and there a set of men seize and exploit the organization—as a great construction company in conspiracy with a Sam Parks did in New York; as professional blackmailers did with the teamsters' strike at Chicago, aided and abetted by certain "business" men and interests.

LIFE SURVIVES ITS ORGANISMS.

The good men and true who are horrified at such outbreaks of evil appeal from the bad organization to the cause not only good, but highest and best to them. "It is hard on the movement," they sigh. And yet it moves on and on, for better or worse, almost if not quite as one of the elemental facts and forces of human life. As such, I repeat, it is to be reckoned with. To conceive of it as a temporary paroxysm after more than a century's persistence of its trades-unionism, is hopelessly to misconceive it. To localize and personify it to the measure of a "walking delegate" or obstinate employer, is to ignore the history of literature and legislation it has wrought into the social fabric for a hundred years. To attribute it to the worst in the men on either side is to overlook the best in both, which can only account for the long-drawn-out agony of the struggle between them. To suppose because not more than one-tenth of our manual workers are enrolled in its membership that "it does not represent the aspirations and sympathy of the mass of them" is to be far from the mind and heart of the great majorities. To hope to disorgan-

ize labor while capital was never so highly or necessarily organized is incendiary folly, born of ignorance or fear. For better for worse, for richer for poorer till death us do part, the present industrial order is wedded to the organization of industry on both sides of its indissoluble human co-partnership.

TO BE RECOGNIZED AND RECKONED
WITH.

The facts then which organized labor represents are to be recognized, studied, understood, interpreted and utilized by us, because we have to reckon with them more and more in every phase of our philanthropic work. Upon our doing so or not will depend the momentous question whether the most cosmopolitan and democratic organization of the people shall fulfil its higher constructive social function to the community, or become the mere fighting machine of a class-conscious struggle; will depend the scarcely less momentous question whether the modern movement of philanthropy shall be also a class organization or a movement of the people's own life.

STANDARD OF LIVING A POINT OF CON-
TACT.

The point of contact between these two organized movements of life is the economic necessity which accounts for and justifies the existence of each. If that fact be clearly grasped and frankly recognized—at least in our own thought, if not necessarily in our words—each of these organizations can the better be not only interpreted to each other, but can become interpreter of each other's greater movement of the common life. More than anything else it will tend to modify the antagonisms over the very real differences which actually exist in the cleaving classes be-

tween whom we work as interpreters, if not as mediators.

The standard of living is the very forceful factor of both labor and charity, which we find to be far more elusive in theory than in fact, in definition than in our dealing with it. A better first hand understanding of laboring life organized to maintain that standard of living might make it the point of contact instead of the point of conflict. The discussion over the "Poverty Line in York" by Mr. Seeborn Rountree and Mrs. Bosanquet illustrates how inevitably the standard of living is to be reckoned with in the practical application of charity. A member of this conference bears the creditable distinction of being the first exponent of the "Principles of Relief" to give due recognition and weight in the forefront of his discussion to the fact of the standard of living, the struggle to maintain which is the labor movement. Mr. Devine's volume is an economist's treatment of the theory and application of relief.

LABOR'S THRIFT AGENCIES.

The benefit features of trades unions, their vast proportions, varying methods and very material results are worthier of far more accurate knowledge, sustained attention and adequate presentation than they have yet received. The Cigar Makers' International Union alone presents the most suggestive development of thrift agencies growing to large proportions through a score of years, which would amply repay the investigations of economists and philanthropists. The strike benefits disbursed by the Packing Trades Council at Chicago forces invidious comparison with the provision for the strike breakers' maintenance and safety. The "House of the People" at Brussels is a powerful intimation of the co-operative common-

wealth within the capacity of working people to initiate and profit by. A committee on thrift might well report to the conference the progress of the movements for trade benefits, co-operative distribution and postal savings banks. Self help not only may thus be promoted, but clearer issues formulated on apprenticeship, limitation of output and prison labor.

Our child labor committees were long anticipated by the labor union's agitation, education and lobbying, which have made possible the legislation in most states. Happily all the available forces from the ranks of labor, among the the farthest-sighted employers, and in organized philanthropy are being rallied and united by the National Child Labor Committee.

STRONGEST ALLIES AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS.

In our organized fight against tuberculosis we find the typographical union skirmish line thrown out far ahead of us in time, in their rally around their home at Colorado Springs for their fellow craftsmen disabled by the great White Plague or worn out by the way. The opportunity to further the great crusade among the largest organized body of the people, which could help us most, is indicated in the following letter of Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, to one of our committee:

"I beg to say that I have been authorized, and do now invite either yourself or some other member of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, to deliver an address to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, which will be held at Pittsburg, Pa., November 13, 1905; with the purpose that the representatives of the trade union movement of

America, in convention assembled, may have the fullest possible information upon the subject and in which way it can be further helpful to study and practically aid in the prevention and cure of tuberculosis.

"The Executive Council greatly appreciate both your visit and the valuable suggestions you made to its members, in all of which I most cordially join.

"If you will arrange to have the articles on tuberculosis written I shall take pleasure in having them set up, and the galley proofs sent to the Labor Press with the suggestion and request that they be published. My only suggestion in the matter is that the articles be made brief, statements terse, and as free as possible from medical, technical, scientific terms. Often the purpose of articles of an important character are lost by attempts at profundity, which tire the patience, as well as being incomprehensible.

"If an invitation is received from the officers of the American Tuberculosis Exhibition in the city of New York no doubt it will be accepted and one or more of the representatives of organized labor will be authorized by the Pittsburg convention of the A. F. of L. to accept it. Apart from this we may encourage other representatives of labor to also participate in the exhibition or congress.

"Enclosed you will find a letter of introduction to organized labor wherever found, which I trust may be helpful to you.

"Hoping that this may be of assistance to you, and that I may hear from you frequently, I am,

"Very cordially yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor."

A SOLVENT OF IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS.

The industrial solvent of our immigration problem can never be applied without the help of one force, which has more than any other achieved the unification of these heterogeneous and ever antagonistic elements. No such basis for community of interest, no such real fellowship between different elements, no such social assimilation in one body has been achieved by any agency, as has welded our diverse working peoples together in the great craft brotherhoods

of organized labor. Personal fellowship with leaders and the rank and file upon the part of those who respect and appreciate the labor movement will find access for our propaganda, co-operation in union meetings and the very influential and wide-reaching labor press.

The reflex influence of such co-operative relations would soon be felt in the democratizing of both charity and religion. In no better way can we demonstrate the claim which most of us would justify that "the charity of to-day is the justice of to-morrow."

A Monk of the World

By Leonora Pease

As angels saw, he stood apart,
His vows were taken with his heart;
And never might his steps retrace
The length that cut him from his race.

His feet had crossed the waste, nor stayed,
As bit by bit his all he paid,
To follow through the changing real
The vision of a high ideal.

He knew the vigil and the fast,
The rending from a shrined past;
His lips that from the cup had quaffed
Were bitter with that bitter draught.

He heard those hero voices gone,
That unhushed speak the word right on,
Wakening in souls like his again
To utterance on the ears of men—

Like harps of the great master mind,
To stir at heavenly breath designed,
In tempest blast or summer breeze
They sound the strain in differing keys:

The minor of the earth's oppressed,
The paean of old wrongs redressed,
The prophecy of juster ways,
The age-long song of sweeter days.

He faced, the strong against the strong,
Faced with the weak who front the wrong,
His soul unleashed to fight right through
To that white goal they journeyed to.

And angel countenances shone
Around him—brethren older grown,
And fellowshipped him where he stood
And strove for human brotherhood.

Unto that day he handed down
His dark insignia, cowl and gown,
To kindred soul, as lone as he—
The purblind world's black calumny.

The Statesmanship of a Labor Leader

Henry White and the Garment Workers' Union

By Professor Jesse Pope

University of Missouri

EDITOR'S NOTE: The rise of the Garment Worker's organization through the strong and able leadership of Henry White, the remarkable growth and successes of the union under his skilful management, the controversy over his use of the executive power, and his dramatic retirement from the leadership on the eve of a great strike, constitute one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the American Labor Movement. The story involves a discussion of the exact relation of a labor leader to his union and how far he is justified in proceeding on his own responsibility. While in theory the public inclines to favor the extensive use of the referendum, it can readily be seen that so far as practical efficiency and strategical management are concerned, the excessive use of the referendum principle proves a very considerable hindrance. The best thought of the more experienced labor leaders is that in certain matters the labor leader should be given wide latitude for the use of his judgment and for quick decisive action, but that he should be very directly responsible to his organization. The following article by Professor Pope was written from data collected by him for his forthcoming book on "The Clothing Trades in New York."

The avowed object of the United Garment Workers of America was to establish an eight-hour day. Commencing at the top with the cutters they determined gradually to work down until they established it in all branches of the clothing industry. Each year saw the tailors' unions demanding a shorter working week. During the nineties they demanded a sixty hour working week; in 1901 a fifty-nine hour week; in 1902 the agreement called for a fifty-six hour week; the forty-eight hour week had become almost universal for the cutters. The Manufacturers' Association reasoned that at an early opportunity further reduction would be demanded in the working time of the lower branches. When it is remembered that the number of cutters compared to those working in the other branches is very small, and that it has been possible to shift a part of the burden of the shorter day enjoyed by the cutters to the shoulders of the more numerous workers in the other branches, the growing demand of these branches for shorter hours and an increasing power

to make it good was viewed with increasing alarm by the employer.



Henry White.

EMPLOYERS FORCED AGGRESSIVELY TO
UNITE.

The demand of the union, growing out of the use of the trade union label,

had forced many employers to run union shops against their will and was particularly galling to many of the Western employers and to the smaller firms struggling to gain a foothold in the industry.

The arbitrary action of certain of the trade unions in reference to the dismissal of men and the tendency of certain cutters' unions to restrict output when at the same time they were enjoying an eight hour day, had driven into the ranks of the opposition many employers, formerly favorable to trade unions. The Philadelphia and Rochester strikes called attention to the effectiveness of the boycott, by which many clothing firms had been forced to suspend business, and had thus forcibly brought to the notice of the National Association the immense power which the union was acquiring. The tendency to a general depression in the clothing industry caused manufacturers to fear that they would be unable, owing to the strength of the union, to reduce cost of production should that become necessary. In general a part of the opposition could be traced to nothing more tangible than that the Clothiers' Association had caught the fever of revolt against trade unionism which was going on in so many industries. This was particularly true of the Western members and of the smaller firms, who were inclined to magnify the burden of the union and were desirous of escaping it. Finally the action of the Clothiers' Association was due in part to trade union excesses, in part to fear of excesses and perhaps in a still larger part to the influence of such associations as the National Manufacturers' under the guidance of Mr. Parry.

The suggestion of a national labor

bureau, which was first broached in the spring of 1903, was a move on the part of the manufacturers to be prepared for labor disturbances which even at this time many felt were brewing. At its meeting in Philadelphia in the spring of 1904, two well defined sentiments were apparent. One was that of the larger and more respectable manufacturers, particularly those of New York City, who were really out of sympathy with the resolutions which they passed but who felt in a vague way that some attempt ought to be made to curb the trade union, though they had no desire to crush or disrupt it. The other was the more hostile sentiment of the smaller manufacturers and the manufacturers of the western centers who were either in open conflict with the union or desirous of such conflict and whose workmen had not been so conservative and fair as those of New York. The avowed intention of this element was to crush the union; to them, the open shop meant the non-union shop.

It is also true that even the more conservative members of the association were deterred from any action which they may have contemplated by the storm of protest from the disinterested press of the country.

THE UNIONS APPEAL TO PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

The unions immediately made their appeal to public opinion on the ground that the open shop meant a return to the former conditions of the clothing industry, and this appeal was successful. To the public, the open shop in the clothing industry had an entirely different meaning from the open shop in other industries. How far such an interpretation is warranted, is of course,

open to much dispute, but it seems to the writer that the danger of return to the so-called sweating conditions was greatly exaggerated and that the import of the open shop in the clothing industry in its present stage carries no more with it than it does in the other industries. The clothing industry has reached such a stage in its development that the conditions of manufacture existing previous to 1890 or even previous to 1900 would be wasteful and costly. The factory laws would not permit it and public opinion would not tolerate it. The argument that the conditions in the clothing industry are peculiarly menaced, owing to the pressure of immigrant labor, was valid at one time but is not today. The use of this labor in the clothing industry today would be non-economic and it would be fatuous on the part of the employers to try to make use of it. This is true not only in the case of the cutting branch, but also in the case of the lower branches.

DECLARATION FOR THE OPEN SHOP.

The open shop regulations applied directly only to the cutters, and to the other workers in inside shops. Unionism among the latter is weak owing to the fact that a large percentage of them are women workers and that the men represent a comparatively low grade of labor. Unionism is most effective in the medium-sized shops of the contractors and these shops were not affected either directly or indirectly by the resolutions of the Clothiers' Association, except in so far as individual manufacturers had guaranteed the fulfillment of agreements entered into by their contractors.

At the very worst the effect of the declaration of the open shop on the tailors could have resulted only in a

lengthening of the working day or a reduction of the wage rate. The working day in those shops where women were employed could not have been lengthened beyond the number of hours prescribed by the laws of the state governing the employment of women. It has been urged that the employer can meet this dilemma by increasing the amount of work done at home by women, but we have already pointed out that it is possible today to have only the minor processes carried on in the home, and this is already the custom in both inside and outside shops.

It is not clear that the immigrant threatens to lower the conditions in the clothing industry to any greater degree than the cheaper grades of labor, pressing for entrance into other industries, tend to lower conditions in them. The clothing industry is supposed to be threatened in New York City most intimately by the pressure of immigrant labor, for immigration touches New York City directly. Despite this fact, worse conditions in both union and other shops are found in practically all the great clothing centers of the country, for example, in Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Chicago and Baltimore. It is therefore, probably not too much to say that the manufacturers had no desire to return to earlier conditions and had they so desired, economic and social pressure would have thwarted them.

This does not mean that they did not have in mind re-adjustments in the clothing industry. In the cutting branches the hours of labor would probably have again been made fifty-four a week. This would have worked no serious hardship and might have been justified on the grounds of trade conditions. Greater elasticity would prob-

ably have been brought about in the adjustment of wages, and employers would have taken steps to put an end to restrictions of output, in so far as this existed. In many cases there would have been greater freedom for the employer in the hiring and dismissal of men and in general, in the management of his shop. Eventually, for the tailors' unions also there would have been re-adjustments, particularly to meet the demands of the changing conditions growing out of the dull and busy seasons. Many restrictions due to the use of the trade union label would have been abolished, but these restrictions are often uncalled for and unjustifiable, and the union when attempting to enforce them is standing in its own light.

DANGER OF A CLOSED NON-UNION SHOP.

The demand of the Philadelphia Association for individual contracts, which meant the destruction of the union, ought to have been condemned by the National Association at its Philadelphia meeting. At a late date, the Association gave assurance that it did not stand for such contracts, but the statement would have carried greater weight and borne better evidence of sincerity if it had been made earlier, as it would have made clear at once that the Association was opposing, not the union, but the abuses of the union. The fact that the Association virtually justified the action of the Philadelphia branch gave warrant to the union position that the open shop of the National Clothiers' Association meant the open shop of the Philadelphia Clothiers' Association and of the National Manufacturers' Association. Public protest brought this fact home to the conservative element, and the statement of President Josephi that no such attack on the

union was intended, no doubt expressed the real attitude of the New York branch of the association and was a sincere statement of its position previous to the calling of the strike.

If the individual agreement idea had been carried out, the result would have been, not an open shop, but a closed non-union shop. Few will deny that the public as well as the workers were right in their protest against a policy which would have led to such an end. After the strike had been called and finally lost the Association did demand the individual agreements. But so far as New York is concerned no serious attempt has been made to insist on such agreements. The following statement made some weeks after the settlement of the strike by a prominent manufacturer, shows the attitude of the New York branch: "It would be poor policy and an unbusinesslike action for any clothing house or any combination of concerns to make any change whatsoever in the hours, wages or system of work enforced at the time of the settlement of the strike in each respective market * * * * * if the manufacturers should seek some reward for the inconvenience and in some cases material loss occasioned by the strikes in reduction of wages or lengthening of hours, they will play directly into the hands of that element in the union which continually struggles for absolute and arbitrary union domination. * * * * * The union was the only source to which the individual mechanic could look for a betterment of his condition. The employer who loses his opportunity of sowing the seeds of industrial peace by maintaining hours and wages as they were will sow instead the seeds of discontent and trade disturbances."

DISSENSION IN UNION RANKS.

The gravest evil to the union was the dissension in its own ranks. One of its great drawbacks has been its lack of leaders. The public has frequently charged that the leaders of the union have been lacking in ability and integrity. The general secretary had gradually brought about a marked change in this respect. As an officer he has been conservative in his actions and has had a thorough grasp of what was due the union and what was due the employer. For eight years he had virtually dominated the policy of the union and had associated with him men of his own stamp. That no one understood better than he the dangerous seas on which the trade union vessel was embarked, was brought out by his series of masterly editorials published in the Weekly Bulletin in the months preceding the Clothiers' convention. His conservatism and the rigid discipline which he from time to time had administered to the unions throughout the country, had been resented and a powerful element opposed to him had grown up. This element needed only the opportunity to break into open opposition.

The General Executive Board had resolved that unless the request for conference made by President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor be complied with by the employers a strike be ordered against all firms in the National Association. But in the following week the New York Manufacturers' Association let it be known that it was not adverse to a conference with the local unions of the city for the purpose of settling existing difficulties. Acting on this information, the Amalgamated Association of Cutters and Trimmers wrote to the Secretary of

the New York Association asking for a conference and it was held. Following the example of the cutters other conferences were called. In speaking of these conferences the Weekly Bulletin says: "It is to be hoped that through negotiations between the local unions and the manufacturers of the different localities the occasion for a national strike may be averted.

STRIKE AGAINST LEADER'S PROTEST.

While the General Secretary of the United Garment Workers of America through its official organ had all along maintained that a general strike would be called unless the Clothiers' Association receded from its position, yet when he discovered that all threats of such a strike did not move the Association he immediately began to use his influence to avert it. He realized that much good could be accomplished through such local conferences as those referred to above. He urged disinterested public men to attempt to bring about an understanding with the Clothiers' Association. Two of these men communicated with the General Executive Board and appealed to it to postpone action until they were given an opportunity to visit the employers in the interests of peace. The General Secretary also appeared before the conference of the representatives of all the local unions in greater New York and advised against the strike for lack of funds.

However, the General Executive Board ordered the Amalgamated Association of Clothing Cutters and Trimmers of New York and vicinity to take a referendum vote of whether or not to strike against the open shop rule of the Clothiers' Association. The General Secretary was present at this meeting

and urged the members to vote against such a strike. The resolution to strike, however, was carried by more than the requisite majority and on June 20 the strike was ordered in forty-two of the Clothiers' Association houses.

On the day preceding this the General Secretary at a meeting of the General Executive Board refused to sanction the strike, urging that conditions had materially changed owing to the solemn and repeated assertion of President Josephi that the Clothiers' Association had no intention or desire to interfere with the conditions then existing in the clothing industry. In an editorial by the General Secretary occurs the following: "While it is well for unions to be alert in meeting this concerted move to convert union into open shops, they are liable by magnifying the danger to rush pellmell into futile strikes. Such rash strikes, especially those against combined employers keyed up on so sensitive an issue, place the union at a decided disadvantage." The General Secretary, therefore, refused to conduct the strike and stepped aside to let some one take his place who was in sympathy with the strike. He tendered his resignation to take effect as soon as the proposed strike was endorsed, hoping that such actions would prevent a strike, as it had on two other occasions. A general secretary was temporarily appointed in his place and a general strike was called.

In this strike about 25,000 workers were involved in New York, 1,500 of these being cutters. The strike was based upon no tangible reason and was utterly lacking in enthusiasm from the beginning, as Mr. White had foreseen. There was the usual spectacular demonstration but in six weeks the men

went back to work and the strike was lost. The utter failure of the strike was a powerful blow to the prestige of the union. Before the strike was declared clothing manufacturers of New York had expressed no intention to force individual agreements. On July 28, the Clothiers' Association issued the following instructions to the executive committee: "1. Members must not confer with any officer, representative or member of any union, unless he be a former employee of such firm. 2. Members are not to take back former employees in a body, but only upon individual application, and only if there are vacancies. 3. Members must protect men employed since the strike and must not discharge or agree to discharge any man now working in order to make room for a former employee." The strikes called at other centers, Chicago and St. Louis, ended quite as disastrously as that of New York.

GENERAL SECRETARY WHITE ARRAIGNED.

Charges were preferred against the Ex-general Secretary by Local Union Number 4. These were that after advocating a strike, and after the General Executive Board had authorized a referendum vote as to whether a strike should be called or not, and after such referendum vote had resulted in favor of the strike, he refused to sanction it and resigned his position. It was claimed that this action had a depressing effect upon the members and furthermore that settlement of the strike was delayed by certain derogatory articles written for the public press.

In reply to these charges the Ex-General Secretary called attention to the fact that no specific act was mentioned on which to base a trial of the general officers, and refers to article

VIII, section 2, of the constitution. He agreed that every member is obliged to abide by the majority vote of the union, but denied that an officer is bound to serve the union in an official capacity under all circumstances, though he may be strongly opposed to the union policy. He held that it is, on the contrary, the duty of an officer under such circumstances to vacate his position in the interests of the union and of harmony. In reply to the accusation that he had written inflammatory articles against the open shop rule of the Clothiers' Association and then deserted the union and espoused the cause of the employers, he answered that such advocacy of a national strike on his part was to menace the manufacturers thereby preventing the enforcement of the open shop policy to the extent of introducing non-union men into shops and of discriminating against union men, and also to bring about a settlement of the Rochester and Philadelphia strike.

He urged that things had materially changed after the letter of President Josephi to President Gompers pledging that present conditions were in no way to be disturbed. He also called attention to his editorial of June 17, alluded to above, to his earnest appeal to the Amalgamated Association of Clothing Cutters not to vote for the strike and to his attempt to interest public spirited citizens to interfere in the interests of peace. He admitted that he advocated the closed shop, but added significantly: "But I do not believe in maintaining the closed shop by forcing the employer to agree to it, or, that upon the employer must be put the burden of supporting the union. I would despair of the labor movement if I thought it was dependent upon such

support, and that the union could not maintain itself at all times without regard to the employers' favor." He pointed out that it was the duty of the General Executive Board to withstand the clamor purposely stirred up by certain persons and to refuse to sanction the strike in which they said they had no confidence. "It is easier to go down with the membership than to try to guide it. It is a convenient doctrine which holds that an office should be held onto without regard to personal convictions."

To show the feeling of the members opposed to his policy, he quoted from the report of the Secretary of the Tailors' Mutual Aid Association: "While we knew at that particular time that it would have been far better to avoid the strike, circumstances did not permit it, because if no action had been taken our membership would have dwindled to nothing and the unions would have collapsed." He replied to the statement that the cutters' locals were in favor of the strike, and that after the referendum vote the General Executive Board had no alternative but to sanction it: "It is true that the G. E. B. agreed to submit the question to the vote of the union, but I held at the time and still do hold that the members are not in a position to decide alone upon a strike of such magnitude, because unable to weigh consequences; that the constitution invests the general executive board with authority to approve or disapprove of an application for permission to strike, and that when a general executive board surrenders the right to decide whether the strike should take place or not, the general officers proved unfaithful to their trust, and that they and not I deserted

and betrayed the union." In reply to the charge that his written articles had caused a delay in the settlement of the strike, he pointed out that the strike was lost and not settled; that a week before the termination of the strike he had secured from the officers of the Clothiers' Association a promise that if the strike were declared off, the Association would pledge itself to uphold the union rate of wages and hours of labor for the year, not to discriminate against union men, and to employ as rapidly as possible the men on strike. He added that this offer was communicated to the general office by telephone while the General Executive Board was in session, but was rejected by it.

In a personal letter Ex-General Secretary White states his position. He calls attention to the fact that the open shop now prevails in all the principal clothing manufacturing centers. "All the improvements wrought in the trade are in great danger of being destroyed as a result of the demoralization of the union. The open shop would mean nothing if the unions had retained their strength. I favor the closed shop where maintained by the natural strength of the unions, and without forcing the employer to sign an agreement to that effect. The object of the strike was to compel the Clothing Manufacturers' Association to sign an agreement to uphold the closed shop, and of course to take down the open shop notices posted up. In my opinion the strike was unnecessary, as union conditions were being observed, and President Josephi of the Manufacturers' Association gave a pledge to uphold the conditions then existing and prevent any return to the sweat shop. The object of my demonstration, that is, the threat to order a

national strike, was achieved as I thought, but my associates, the members, thought otherwise and so the strike was declared and I resigned."

The convention of the United Garment Workers of America held at Buffalo in August, 1904, sustained the charges of Local Union Number 4, and voted to expel Mr. White from the union.

The motives which impelled Mr. White to use threats and a show of power to ward off the strike, are the same as those which control the actions of many a statesman in the field of politics. It is a dangerous role to play in a democracy, because what the statesman means only as a threat, the populace takes in earnest and demands that such threats be made good. His attitude accomplished its purpose as it gave the Clothiers' Association time for second thought, and brought public opinion to his support, but he misjudged the temper of the rank and file in believing that they could be brought to the verge of a strike and then asked to forego it. The fatal weakness in his position was his inability to keep the control in his own hands on account of the referendum vote. His statement, in regard to the responsibility of the leader, is profoundly true, but Secretary White's action viewed in the light of the traditions of the union must be considered as a case of lack of judgment. His action in resigning after the strike had been declared is also open to criticism, though here again it must be borne in mind that the motive for this action was to prevent a strike when other means had failed. The Executive Board had refused to support him, and it seems as though Secretary White failed to grasp fully the extent to which

the radical element in the union had gotten control of the rank and file. When he saw that his resignation did not have the desired effect from the standpoint of the union—the only possible standpoint—he ought to have remained in charge and conducted the strike, for it is unquestionably true that by so doing he could have prevented the union from falling into radical and incompetent hands and could have saved it from its subsequent humiliation and defeat. The sober second thought comes later to the rank and file and that it would have come under Secretary White's leadership cannot be doubted. The mistakes which Secretary White made are human. His conduct as a whole was worthy of his past record and stamps him as one of the greatest labor leaders that this or any other country has produced. But it cannot be overlooked that his withdrawal from the union at the time of its great crisis has left it leaderless and there is grave danger that it will take years of struggle to bring it back to the high plane to which his leadership had brought it. As he himself says in a recent letter, all the improvements wrought in the trade during the past ten years are in great danger of being destroyed as the result of the demoralization of the union.

The hope of the union today is found in the tremendous public opinion which is back of it and the sympathetic and conservative attitude of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of New York City. When the union shall have regained its ground under Mr. White's leadership, or that of some other capable man, the decision of such a momentous question as a general strike will be left not to the rank and file but where it belongs, in the hands of responsible leaders. The referendum

vote, when serious questions are involved, is the greatest handicap under which trade unions in the clothing industry, as well as in other industries, labor.

The union, as well as the public, is inclined to overemphasize the militant side of labor organizations. While no one will deny that in some instances higher wages and shorter hours can be traced to the direct influence of the union, sooner or later it is brought home to all that hours and wages in a given industry are determined in the long run by forces so powerful and subtle that all direct attempts to influence them to any marked degree are futile. The low stage of industrial development of the clothing workers, their former traditions and their attitude in general toward industry, have forced the union to confine its activity largely to the development and education of its members. Through lectures and discussions in meetings and through the press, the union has awakened in the rank and file self-consciousness and hopefulness which have exerted a profound influence on conditions of employment and ultimately upon productive efficiency. This activity has gained for the union the support of the employer. He has become sympathetic and helpful.

The spirit of the union is shown in the fact that it has generally taken the public into its confidence. Its deliberations have been remarkably free from that suspicious secrecy which has been so prevalent among the unions of other industries. With growth in numbers and increase in power there has been a marked tendency for the union to become more militant. Catching the infection from other unions, secrecy and all that goes with it has gradually crept

in. The trade union label has been an important factor in this change of attitude. The maliciousness and the vindictiveness of the boycott which the union has established to enforce the use of this label has not been surpassed by that of any labor organization in this country. The boycott has its counterpart in the black-listing scheme of the Clothiers' Association. The one is as unrighteous as the other, and hence contains within itself the elements of destruction which will bring about its overthrow or the overthrow of those making use of it.

Those who are guiding the policy of the union today are advocates of more militant activity, and every week witnesses the widening of the breach be-

tween capital and labor. As a result of such a policy a radical decline in trade union membership has set in among many of the leading industries of the country. If the present policy of the union in the clothing industry is persisted in, there will be a similar result.

The study of the work of the trade unions in the clothing industry cannot but move one to admiration. The trade unions easily take rank above all the many other social forces at work on the East Side, the union has been to the father what the public school has been to the child. It has raised his standard of living, instructed him in American ideals, awakened his dormant consciousness and widened his mental horizon.

A Traveling Camp for Boys

Conducted in the Interest of Denison House, 1905

By De Lo E. Mook

Contributed through the College Settlement Association, Katharine Coman, President

So much benefit has accrued during the last two camping seasons from the tramping trips operated from a permanent camp as a base, that, in the lack of a suitable permanent location, it was decided to try the experiment of a traveling camp. Twenty-nine boys made the trip, divided into groups according to age and strength, as follows:

First Group of boys between 13 and 15 years, started at Bridgton, Me., came to Ashland, N. H., covering 78 miles. They were on the trip about 14 days, average 5 and 6-10th miles a day.

Second Group of boys, from 15 to 17 years old started at Ashland, N. H., came up through the Franconia Notch

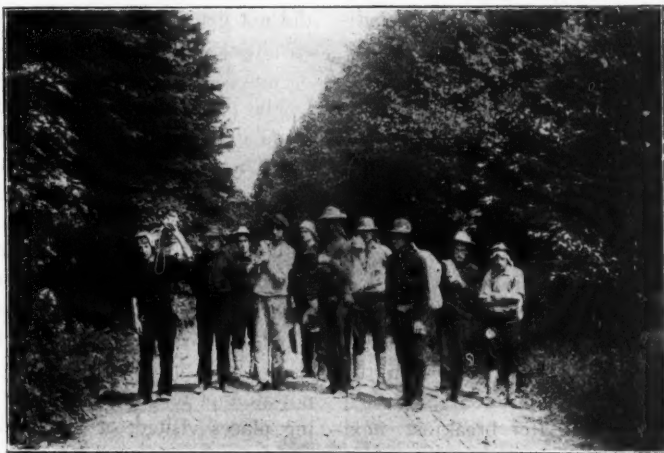
around through Kinsman Notch and back to Ashland, covering a distance of 114 miles in 14 days, averaging about eight miles per day.

The Third Group of boys 17 to 23 years old started at Ashland, N. H., and made their way via Mt. Washington, around to Bridgton, Me., covering a distance of 188 miles in 14 days, or an average of 13 miles per day.

This indicates in a general way the distances traveled by the different crowds, and in a rough way the routes which were taken. The marching was done by easy stages, feet were kept in good condition, and the food was the very best.

The outfit was planned for fifteen persons, including two leaders and the cook, and it met every need. By limiting the weight of the luggage to 700 lbs., it was possible for one stout horse to pull it over ordinary mountain roads. Where very steep ascents were encountered recourse was had to "boosting," that is to say, a long rope was passed behind the wagon and up in front to two files of fellows, who thus easily added the pulling strength of an extra horse. The outfit included a 12 x 14 tent and fly, a shelter tent, a stove

The first thing on arrival at a camp, no matter how short the stay, was the digging of an earth closet and a garbage sink. All refuse was immediately covered with earth, as a consequence there were no flies or foul odors. The tent was pitched, water and wood were brought, the stove set up, the fire irons were driven in, and the wagon unpacked. A kitchen squad of two assisted the cook and washed the dishes. A police squad of two dug the sinks and kept the camp ship-shape. These squads were changed each day so that



Heavy Marching Order—Carrying Packs

weighing fifty pounds, 15 ponchos, 15 blankets, sewed up like sleeping bags, 15 sailor bags, pails, lanterns, shovel, ropes, axes, kettles, pots, whiteware, bowls, cups, and plates, aluminum spoons and forks, steel knives, and in short all the necessary equipment for an independent gipsy community on the march. We were thus prepared to stop where we pleased and make ourselves at home, more than that, to stay as long as we liked, for the wagon was always provisioned for two weeks ahead.

each person in camp had a taste of each one of the camp duties. Those not on any squad for the day were assigned special duties according to the circumstances in which we were placed. After breaking camp and packing up, the ground was policed thoroughly so that no refuse might be left to offend the owner or the next comer. Fires were carefully extinguished.

The story of the trip is the story of making and breaking camps, of tramps along mountain roads, through wonder-

ful valleys, past rugged mountains, along trails new and old, rough and steep. Roughing it this way brought sturdy health, and keen appetite for food, chosen for wholesomeness rather than delicacy. All through there was substantial gain of health, strength, weight, and ability to look out for one's self under tremendously varying conditions. One of the leaders kept a journal, and one of the boys was detailed to keep a log, each telling in its own way the story of the trip. The following extract is taken from the Boy's Log Book.

"Friday, June 30, 1905. This camp was situated on Swift Brook, a beautiful stream near the town of Conway. We remained here until late in the afternoon when we moved on for a few miles to Knowles Pond. We decided to call the last camping place "Camp Bingo" in honor of our cat. Knowles Pond is a beautiful piece of water on which is situated a beautiful beach. We all went in for a swim and the water was delicious. After supper we went to bed, but none of us slept very soundly as we were bothered all night with the sand flies and mosquitoes. Saturday, July 1, 1905: After breakfast next morning we pushed on for about four miles, and as it looked like rain we pitched our camp on some land owned by Mr. Cummings a friend of Mr. Mook.

"During our noon meal we had some visitors, Mr. Cummings, his wife, and child, and some of his neighbors. They seemed to be very much pleased with our outfit. It looked as though it would clear up in the afternoon, so we decided to start on our trip up Mt. Chocorua. We walked about four miles to the Piper House, which is the entrance to the Mountain trail, and then we had a lunch of milk and Triscuit. We walked up

the mountain about half way and would have camped there but the boys wished to stick it out to the top. It was very near dark when we arrived at the summit and so we kept right on down the other side to the timberland where we camped for the night beside a brook. It was later than we thought when we got through supper and as we were all tired after our hard tramp we rolled up in our rubber blankets and went to sleep. During the night Mr. Mook and his brother took turns watching the camp and keeping the fire going. It started raining during the night but we did not get wet much. In the morning we drank some beef tea and proceeded on our journey down the mountain."

The expedition set out from Moose Pond in Bridgton, Me., where North End Union has its summer camp. Here the outfit was put in running order. Camp was broken, and the Pumkin Valley Road reached after a first lesson in "boosting" the wagon over a very steep hill. Our road led past Jockey Cap, Mt. Tom, and along the beautiful Saco River to Lovell's Pond. I shall not attempt to mention all the interesting places visited, or to put down the number of midges and mosquitoes encountered, except to say that usually we avoid the favorite haunts of the little fellows, or put them to flight with a fire. A smudge drives them away, while a hot fire seems to destroy them. In two weeks we made the trip from Bridgton, Me., to Ashland, N. H., and visiting White Face and Squam Lake on the way. Marches were short and the camps were delightful, each after its own fashion. The people were courteous and obliging, partly because we avoided making them trouble, partly because our director knew them, and they knew him. Wood, water, safety in

the matter of building fires, and natural beauty governed the choice of camping places. When one of Nature's gardens was reached we rested there and enjoyed it for a day or two, moving often enough to keep the boys in good sturdy health.

Milk and eggs we had when they were available, otherwise, to use the technical camp expression we went without eggs and "milked the tin-cow." Bacon and syrup did duty in the place of butter.

At Squam Lake we visited Camp Hale and our hosts generously took us

Three Mile Hill and swept to the north of Mt. Kinsman, through a peaceful and fertile valley. Then up into Wildwood Notch between Kinsman and Moosilauke, where deer were seen within forty yards of the camp and where the bears measured on the trees their length and strength and prowess with teeth and claws.

The road over the Notch was well nigh impassable, but we would not be denied, and our mare, Mary Jane, did her best over the rocks, corduroy, and through sloughy Beaver Meadows. When the traces broke we made new



A Camp on the Road

down the lake in their launch and set us down in Ashland. At Ashland the first group took the train for Boston, and the next group were met and taken to the Sandwich end of the Big Squam Lake, on the same good launch Adjidaumo.

This time we passed through Sandwich Notch and made our way by easy stages to the Valley of the Pemigewasett, up this beautiful Valley to North Woodstock, then through Franconia Notch to Profile.

After viewing America's Natural Sphinx we passed to the north, down

ones out of rope and pulled the outfit through. Rain baffled our attempt to ascend Mt. Moosilauke, and we brought up at our camp on Pondfield Brook near North Woodstock, left the wagon there and hiked down to Ashland where we left the second group and met the third, which was made up of young men, for the last and most strenuous part of our trip.

Upon reaching North Woodstock we sent home the tent, keeping only the fly and all baggage which could possibly be spared, thus stripping for the last two weeks contest.

After three days waiting for good weather in which to visit Lost River we started up Franconia Notch, through the rain, and visited the Flume Basin, Profile Lake, and Echo Lake, bidding good-bye this time to the Great Stone Face and turned our faces north and east to Bethlehem, and Twin Mountain. We camped at Twin Mountain and between Fabyns and Crawfords on a high balsam clad ridge.



Small Boys Marching—Packs on Wagon

Entering the gateway of Crawford Notch we sent the wagon and cook around via Bartlett and Glen Station to await us near Jackson, N. H., while we started up over the Bridle Trail. We got over Mt. Clinton, had a good view of the Presidential Range, and saw in the same view a storm coming from the northwest. We descended to the tree line and built Camp Timberline out of boughs. The storm held off nearly until morning and then the heaviest rainfall in a number of years fell and kept falling. After delaying a day we decided to try for Jackson, N. H., to be nearer our journey's end, and at the same time catch up with that very necessary thing, the supply wagon. Mt. Cascades was raging and beautiful, the roads were rivers, and we were wet

through. We dried out at Bemis, and continued on to Jackson, and camped until the waters subsided.

Glen River dropped ten feet in eight hours, and we made a dash for Mt. Washington, up the Glen Road and Tuckerman's Ravine. The top was reached in a hail storm but our ponchos saved us much discomfort. Upon its ending we broke the Ellis River Camp and hiked through Intervale, camping that night on Hurricane Mt. One more stage took us to Moose Pond in Maine, and the next day our six weeks' expedition was over.

All the boys enjoyed the trips and many were enthusiastic. The changing of camps with the ceaseless activity it entails seemed to develop new strength and self-reliance. I will give below the increase of weight in each one of the boys who made the trip.

E. H. 1 lbs.	R. C. 1.00
E. B. 1.50	J. S. 2.50
T. W. 2.	J. H. 3.25
G. M. 2.75	J. O. 1.25
J. F. 2.	T. D. 1.10
J. S. 1.75	J. B. 5.50
T. T. 0.	F. O. 6.00
J. H. 3.25	J. S. 2.25
E. A. 2.50	J. R. 9.75
J. B. 3.50	J. B. 6.50
J. F. 2.25	J. Y. 6.25
E. B. 7.25	D. T. 5.75
E. C. 4.00	A. M. 6.00
D. M. 3.00	D. M. 7.00
C. S. 1.50	

It was observed that the greatest gains in weight were made by the last crowd who made the only long marches and endured rather severe hardships.

Our progress through the country was marked by uniform kindness and helpfulness on the part of the inhabitants.

As the boy who kept the log has it in his book, "You would be surprised at the hospitality of the people up here. They took all our wet clothes and dried them, and while we were waiting they supplied us with dry clothes."

The excellence for which this sort of camping expedition is most valuable is that the progress of the trip itself furnishes all the amusement and fills the time and the mind of the party to the exclusion of everything unworthy. This alone makes the somewhat greater expense of such a trip reasonable. Even the most blase city boy cannot help but find the variety of scenery and the constant change of conditions absorbingly interesting, to say nothing of the influence of the wild places. The depths of forest and remote places of the mountains impress their minds indelibly, and the occurrences of the summer are furnishing and will furnish, topics of conversation for this year and years to come.

It is possible that on reading over our financial statement it will strike the reader that there has been a rather lavish expenditure. In answer to this it can only be said that the best is none too good; that we are responsible for these young people to their parents, and that a traveling camp is comparatively a new thing in the White Mountains, and that

possibly in the near future we may learn to economize.

The summary of our expense account foots up as follows:

Transportation	\$152.15
Cost of team and horse feed, etc.	68.19
Food	159.98
Wages of cook	41.00
Paid out towards new equipment	81.51
Freight and express	6.66
Medicine	7.60
Amusement	2.70
Expenses incidental to Tramps .	18.00
Incidentals	34.63
Laundry	5.25

Total\$577.67

To this will be added the cost of developing and printing pictures, and some charges for laundry and other things, the bills for which have not as yet been rendered.

It will be interesting to the reader, who is interested in such things, to learn that our cost per meal, per person, was $11\frac{1}{2}$ cts.

I have tried to figure up in my own mind how much of the above sum was spent foolishly and have come to the conclusion that about \$7.50 was so expended, but we regard ourselves as exceptionally fortunate in choice of right camp equipment and general management.

Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest.

Trade Agreements and Arbitration

Notable Labor Day Speeches by Herman Justi and Mayor Dunne

Coming from a man so closely identified with employers' associations as is Mr. Herman Justi, the Commissioner of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association, it is certainly cause for optimism to hear opinions expressed that earnestly favor trade agreements as preservers of industrial peace. And this is the more significant, coming as it does on the heels of the controversy in his own industry and state this summer over the vexed question of the Shot Firers' law which was described in the last issue of *THE COMMONS*, a controversy that led to the very brink of industrial war. After the excesses of the teamsters strike in Chicago, it is gratifying to find a representative of the employing classes who has faith in the ability of the Labor Movement to purge itself of its own worst enemies. Of such importance do we esteem Mr. Justi's high minded contribution to current thought on labor matters, that we gladly make copious extracts for the benefit of those among our readers who may not have seen the entire address.

"It has always been incomprehensible to me that we business men should persist in treating the element of labor as outside of or exempt from the ordinary rules of business. We contract for our raw material after a friendly conference with those who have raw materials for sale, and, in turn, we dispose of our products by friendly agreement with the buyer. Why should we not treat labor, so far as the wage question is concerned, as a commodity, and agree to buy so much of it as we need at a reasonable

price after a friendly, business conference with those who have labor for sale?

"Now, this idea underlies, as I comprehend it, the whole system of joint trade agreements. This seems to me a good foundation—a solid basis—for a wise, comprehensive system, through the medium of which employers and employees can best determine the value, according to commercial or competitive conditions, of that commodity which one class desires to buy and the other class desires to sell.

"Say what you will on the subject of labor disputes, the fact remains that the great conflict between the forces of capital and labor can be settled finally only in one way, and that way is by mutual agreement. You can settle its conflicts temporarily by fighting—by whipping somebody—but somehow they don't remain whipped, for no sooner has that somebody been whipped than he comes again.

"I confidently believe in the system of joint trade agreements. I believe with all the intensity of my nature that that system may become most effective for good and will the sooner be the universal system when we, employers and employees, have decided to be honest with each other and honest with ourselves.

"The labor organizations will survive, I believe, because American laborers will see the necessity of wise, conservative, concerted action before it is too late, and because wise, honest labor men will insist on pulling away from those who are just the reverse, and will refuse to indorse self-confessed grafters and red-handed murderers.

"If you are determined to preserve your union, you must be faithful to your pledges and loyal to your leaders. You must, as individuals, feel bound by and respect all contracts made for you by your officials and after a contract has been made you cannot afford to set its provisions aside by legislative enactments. You may be able to convince time-serving politicians that this is right, but the public—never. If you intend that the principles of trade unionism shall prevail, if you want them recognized and yourselves respected, you must make union-

ism a synonym for good workmanship, for integrity and for fidelity to contract.

"I favor the joint agreement, because it tends to broaden and enlighten those who participate in it. I favor it because I believe it will eliminate from the rank of employers the men who are responsible for what is known as 'cut-throat' policy in trading—a policy responsible always for low wages—and further that it will ultimately drive from positions of honor and trust in labor organizations a class of ruffians who are its greatest disgrace and its chief menace—a class of men half fools, half rogues.

"In the coal mining industry of the country, for example, if the joint agreement has done nothing else, it has at least brought the coal mine operators closer together, and to the end that they are less suspicious of each other, and, therefore, hold each other in higher respect. None of us are either so good or so bad as we seem, and if our relations become sufficiently intimate, so that we may be seen by each other just as we are, the cause of truth and justice will be advanced.

"If the joint trade agreement helps to move us in the right direction; if it is, as I contend, the best system so far evolved; if it continues in the future to steadily improve upon what it has done in the past, we should welcome it as a bow of promise that spreads itself across the industrial firmament and illumines it with hope."

Mayor Dunne, in addressing a large gathering of union men, gave expression to similar sentiments regarding the advisability of a general adoption of the trade agreement idea and a scrupulous living up to its contract provisions. Doubtless he had a lingering remembrance of the difficulties that beset him during the Chicago teamsters' strike when he declared:

"It is the part of wisdom, both on the part of employers and employees, in entering into agreements or treaties under which the hours, wages and conditions of employment are fixed, to provide in all cases that whenever a dispute arises with reference to the interpretation of the contract or with reference to new exigencies arising thereafter all such disputes shall be settled by an agreed board

of arbitration. Such a provision entails no sacrifice of dignity, and its incorporation in the contract or treaty must necessarily give an opportunity to either or both parties to the contract to avoid the resort to such a war measure as a strike or a lockout."

Teamsters Revolt Against President Shea

Meanwhile it is gratifying to note that the better sense in the various teamsters' organizations is coming to the front. There is open dissatisfaction at the outcome of the convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, where President Shea carried matters with a desperate and high hand to make sure that his course in the Chicago strike should be vindicated, and where he practically dictated his own reelection. An organized revolt is now menacing his control of the International organization. No less than three of the best organized locals in Chicago, comprising the ice wagon drivers, van teamsters and brick, sand and terra cotta teamsters, voted to repudiate the election of officers at the international convention at Philadelphia, adopt the referendum and withhold support from President Shea and the executive board. The unions which defied Shea and his colleagues have a total membership of 4,000, including 1,400 van teamsters, 1,800 ice wagon drivers and 800 brick, tile and terra cotta teamsters. These unions voted in the affirmative, by large majorities on each of the following propositions:

1. Shall we repudiate the election of officers and all the unconstitutional acts that took place in the Philadelphia convention?
2. Shall we at once declare for and adopt the referendum?
3. Shall we withhold support from President Shea and his executive board pending an investigation?

4. Shall a committee be appointed and at once proceed to assume temporary control and prepare a national constitution embodying the referendum system and submit the same to all local unions for ratification or rejection?

The Printers Winning the Eight-Hour Day

A hard fight but a fair one is on between the book and job printers and their employers over the eight-hour day—a fight forseen and for which both sides have calmly prepared and fore-armed themselves. A defense fund, raised by the union by assessing every union printer one half of one percent of his wages in addition to his regular dues, was met by the employer's association (The United Typothetae of America) assessing its members for its defense fund on the basis of each shop's payroll. A referendum vote of the printers declared unequivocally for the eight-hour day; an equally unequivocal majority of the Typothetae declared as strongly against the eight-hour day; the date for opening the printing trade war was set, was awaited coolly and patiently by both sides—and arriving on schedule the pre-arranged program was rendered.

Daily, from the smaller cities and towns come a long list of victories for the union with only a very occasional or exceptional defeat. The larger cities hold out longer, though not a few of the importance of Albany, N. Y., the capitulation of which the newspaper report as we go to press, have granted the demands of the union. In other cities, as in Chicago where the fighting is hottest and where it seems, if anywhere, to be centered, many of the employers have signed the union

agreements but it is understood that only on condition of a clear union triumph over the larger firms which are still effectively opposing the trades. In New York and St. Louis special conditions exist.

In New York, where the eight-hour day was discussed early, the issue has been postponed till the first of the year by the adoption of a slightly increased wage scale till the end of 1905. In St. Louis the union disregarded the referendum vote of the International organization by making a contract extending the nine-hour day till January 1909; but the local union, upon suspension from the International Union, revoked the contract in order to be restored to good standing. In other cities, like Chicago, where the contracts expired July 1, the union demanded the eight-hour day and the closed shop and the employers announced the continuance of the nine-hour day and posted open shop notices. In some shops, then, the union awaited the hiring of non-union men before striking, whereupon they struck whether at the same time any union men had been discharged or not. In other shops, the printers, struck upon finding merely the intentions of the employers hostile.

The issue, in spite of its being clearly defined by the result of the referendum vote of 19,483 to 5,398 for the eight-hour day pure and simple, has been often confused recently by the statement that the fight now spreading over the country is also essentially for the closed shop. In fact, it was the deliberate movement of the employers for the open shop, taken as a challenge by the union, that in great measure precipitated the present fight; but the referendum which called for the eight-

hour day opposed the employers on the closed or open shop issue only by recommending that the agreements on that point continue the same as in the past few months. The local unions, however, have in a great number of cases, especially in Chicago, incorporated strong closed shop features in the new demands. The wage question, too, found no direct stipulation in the referendum vote of the union; but the local unions have in every instance made it plain that a reduction of the working hours from nine to eight must not be accompanied by a corresponding reduction in wages or by any reduction at all. And this, the employers argue, is an impossibility upon an impossibility.

Even if the wages should be reduced in correspondence with the reduction of the hours, the employers claim a loss which they could not stand. They argue that in the trades where the eight-hour day prevails, as in the building trades, there is no great permanent investment involved; whereas in the printing trade there is an extremely large investment of plant and machinery which must depreciate over 10 per cent in earning power if left idle for another hour a day. This objection too cannot be practically overcome by working the men in shifts in the job printing trades. And as to the wage scale in large cities, which are still holding out against the union, the employers claim that their operating expenses are now so heavy that the city shops are constantly losing business to country shops—which is undoubtedly true in certain lines. And finally, the employers claim that the proposition for the eight-hour day was not carried by the men directly involved but largely

through the votes of the newspaper printers who already have an eight-hour day and are only indirectly concerned with this controversy.

The fight is spreading and threatens to involve the whole country—to be long and bitterly contested. It is interesting to note that though both sides are fighting, neither is "offensive;" both refer carefully to defensive movements and their "defense" funds.

The Anthracite Situation

An Eight-Hour Day and Recognition of the Union

What is to happen next April when the period, for which the award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission is to remain in force, expires? This is the question that has been agitating the press and all observers of labor matters. Two features of the situation have given rise to perturbation among those who forebode trouble. One is the extended trip of President Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers, through the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, during which he has given utterance to decided views as to what demands the workers should insist upon. The other is the repeated statement in the daily press, from many localities, that the operators and the coal railroads are engaged in laying up an enormous store of coal, far in excess of the usual accumulations customary at this season of the year.

An eight hour day and full recognition of the union are the points that have been made most prominent by Mr. Mitchell in all his speeches, aside from his urgent and significant pleas for strengthening and extending the union.

On the first of these propositions Mr. Mitchell referred to the fact that mine workers all over the world have achiev-

ed the eight hour work day, and in this country 350,000 have already secured it, partly because four states have enacted statutes making it criminal to exact more hours a day for mine labor. Both on the ground of health to the individual worker, and of better citizenship to the community, it was urged to make the eight hour day universal in the mine industry. President Hadley, moreover, was quoted as authority for the statement that in the long run more work can be got out of a man who works eight hours a day than out of a man who works ten.

As it has been freely admitted by all concerned, however, that inasmuch as a large proportion of the mineworkers already have the eight hour day, the other demand insisted upon—that of recognition of the union—is of far greater importance.

To indicate as clearly and as authoritatively as possible the position Mr. Mitchell has assumed on this question we quote from a recent speech of his, as reported in the official publication of the union, the *United Mine Workers' Journal*:

"As regards recognition of the union I want to say that I don't favor it as a matter of sentiment; but for the reason that I have found to my satisfaction that there can be no permanent industrial peace unless the workmen are recognized as contracting parties in fixing wages and improving conditions of employment. The workman must be recognized as a collective unit.

"Strikes are bad and are to be regretted; but they do not represent as great an evil as child labor or serfdom. There are worse things than strikes. Where workmen are recognized as a collective body the danger of strikes is minimized. In the bituminous field in 1898 the union was recognized, and since then we have had no strikes there, and it will be always found that, where the representatives of the workmen and the employers sit down together like reasonable

men, there will be no necessity to resort to strikes. In the soft coal region the operators don't name the price for labor. We say that it is worth so much, and try to convince them that it is, and we usually get pretty nearly all that we ask for.

"What we want to do is to have the union recognized in the anthracite region, so that we can say to Baer: 'Here is the labor of 150,000 men and boys. We want so much for it, and you take it or leave it.' And he will take it, because he can't get along without us. Baer said in 1902 that he was not opposed to union labor; that he had no objection to the men organizing, but that he did object to them taking an unwarranted interest in his business. He said he could run his own business without our assistance. We let him run it for five and one-half months. Then he wanted us to help him manage his business.

"Now, we don't want to run Mr. Baer's business. We don't own the mines, for they belong to the coal companies, but we do want to be recognized as their equal in the making of contracts for our labor. We want them to know that we are as strong and as powerful as they are, but unless we stand together we will not be as strong as Mr. Baer's forces.

"I want to see industrial peace, and I believe that the only manner in which it can be brought about is by the recognition of trades unions in the making of contracts."

In view of the especial and well-known obstinacy of the operators on the subject of union recognition, the effect of the firm statements of President Mitchell has been to precipitate no end of queries by the press, representing all shades of opinion on labor matters, as to what will happen if the mine workers' organization takes a resolute stand upon the lines its president has laid down with so much emphasis.

The more radical anti-union papers, and especially those representing the associations of the Parry type, are already busy marshalling arguments in support of the operators and trying to get an early start in heading public

opinion that way. They declare that war must come and they are making their customary appeals for the "precious liberties" and the "single, supreme, eternal principle" of no interference with the operator's right to run his business as he wants to, we suppose, and of the inalienable right of the non-unionist to "freedom of contract." *American Industries*, Mr. Parry's paper, declares that the only way the miners' union can conduct a struggle is by violent strike methods, and accuses President Mitchell of doing all in his power to bring on another contest along these lines because he knows that is the only way to hold the organization together.

With much more pacific intent, and without even referring to such insanities as the foregoing, since it recognizes the confidence the public has in President Mitchell's fairness and conservatism, the *United Mine Workers' Journal* tries to calm the general alarm by explanatory editorials declaring that "in view of the many statements in the public press anent President Mitchell's tour in the anthracite region, and also of some schemes being concocted by some financial highwaymen, The Journal desires to make a few facts plain, so that the mine workers, the operators and the public will not be misled."

It proclaims President Mitchell's mission to be "one of peace, to bring the workers into a solid union so as to insure peace." It asserts that President Mitchell "never thought of, nor uttered the warlike language attributed to him." Moreover it declares with plausibility that underneath the whole agitation are the schemes of stock jobbers who have so manipulated the anthracite stock market during the past

few months as to boost prices skyward. Having disposed of their stocks at a high figure, the supposition is that they are endeavoring to break the market by building up rumors of trouble on the mere fact of President Mitchell's tour, hoping to buy back their former holdings when the market reaches its lowest ebb. The *Journal* continues:

"The duty of all three interests concerned—miner, stockholder and public—is clear. Let the miners solidly organize, the stockholders cling to their holdings and the public refuse to be stampeded. The miner must not only organize, but he must cling to every penny he can. To spend nothing foolishly and then he will be prepared.

"To the public The Journal would say that the leaders of the United Mine Workers of the nation and the districts have not lost one iota of their common sense and sense of equity. They are still the same clear-headed, right-minded men and are not secretly or openly plotting to wrong you. . . . "It is time for all concerned to take a pause, to contemplate the situation calmly, reason sensibly and act justly. The organization of the operators is not a menace to organized labor notwithstanding all that has been printed. The organization of the mine workers is not a threat toward operators, Wall street to the contrary. Solid organizations of both mean peace, not war, a thing to be always borne in mind."

And still earlier, detecting the signs of unrest it declared editorially:

"It is quite evident that there is a stock-raiding party at work, seeking to create trouble; or to carry the impression that President Mitchell and his aides are preparing for a huge strike. They are doing nothing of the kind. They are getting the men in such a condition that a strike will be averted. Whatever else may have been alleged against President Mitchell and his associates it has never been charged that they were fools. . . . The present contracts will be kept both in spirit and letter; there will be no strike unless the operators are deaf to all justice and common sense, a thing which no one will admit at present. There are, to be sure, several little hitches here and there in the

various fields, over the shot-firing question in Illinois, the machine scale in Kansas, the checkweighman muddle in central Pennsylvania, but these petty troubles have, like the poor, "always been with us," and cause no serious trouble and have no ulterior purpose. A solid organization in the anthracite field will mean permanent peace. That is the sole object of President Mitchell's visit here."

Speaking for the public, the *Springfield Republican* raises the question as to whether the scheme for arbitration, inaugurated by the award of the Anthracite Coal Commission, which gives to the union equal representation with the operators on the arbitration board, is not enough of a recognition of the union for all practical purposes, since all disputes as to wages or hours must come before this tribunal for adjudication. It hints that Mr. Mitchell may be trying to assume a labor dictatorship over the whole situation, and then goes on to say:

"Over such a question the coal-consuming public becomes a party of greater interest than is represented by the operators or mine owners. They can bow to almost any terms imposed by the unions and then pass the whole consequence along to the public. Their extraordinary monopolistic power was exhibited when they made the public pay the whole cost of the award of 1903, and a large sum in addition for the enhancement of their corporate profits. They can make further concessions to the employes a further source of profit to themselves.

In this connection it must be said, however, that if the coal companies and railroads are making enormous profits at present, as nearly everyone concedes, the "bowing to the terms of the union" should not necessarily mean that prices shall go up to the consumer. If profits are huge and the demands of the union should appear to the public as moderate and just, public sentiment will feel that the fault lies not so much with the unions for asking some part

of the prosperity, but rather with companies that want to play the "whole hog." And this brings us once more to the great question of the day—how are the people to exercise control of the corporations? Shall it be in this case, as some very strenuously argued at the time of the last strike, by government ownership of the mines? If the present unrest in the anthracite field amounts to nothing more, it will at least serve as one more warning to the people that they must find some way of controlling the tremendous industrial and economic forces that affect the life of the nation, and the daily living of every inhabitant, so vitally. Meanwhile no part of the community will watch the coal situation more closely than the consuming public, which in any event will have to pay the cost.

Pay for the Convict Labor

The market price for convict labor and the convict to pay for his keep and the support of his family, is the simple, and most surprisingly rational, proposition recently offered to solve the convict labor problem.

The senselessness displayed in the treatment of convicts and the question of pay for their labor is almost incredible unless one recalls such results as followed, for example, the Illinois law which for some two months forbade any work at all in the state penitentiary.

The economic difficulty which causes most of the trouble, comes from the circumstance that convicts are obliged only to earn "convict's keep"—that is, they are not paid enough to support even one free man in fair circumstances, much less maintain a home and support a wife and children. Free men, having those advantages and dis-

advantages, can not compete, therefore, with the convict in his field of labor. The simple suggestion of Rev. George B. Wright, Commissioner of Charities and Correction of New Jersey, is simply:

"I wish that when a man of family is imprisoned, the work that he does in an institution might go for the support of his family, which otherwise would have to be sent to the almshouse and supported by the public."

While, as the *Literary Digest* says, the scheme makes no provision for women prisoners or convicts who are not encumbered with dependents, it is supposed that the commissioner intends that in these cases the earnings of each individual would be used to support himself or herself in prison, reserving a small percentage with which to begin life anew upon liberation. And it is certain that while this proposition is not a panacea for all the ills of convict labor, if the market value were exacted for that labor, the great objection which we first noted would disappear.

Chicago's Fresh Air Work

"Chicago's Great Fresh Air Work" is the subject to which *Co-operation* devotes its enlarged issue for September 16. Nearly every agency that has been busy during the past summer arranging outings for those who otherwise would have had none, is represented, and the number, taken as a whole, presents a most admirable review of the larger efforts made in this direction by Chicago. From the oldest fresh air work—that of the *Daily News* sanitarium at Lincoln Park, which completes its nineteenth year, to the very newest attempts to meet the needs of crowded neighborhoods, the same word seems to come—that the summer just past has been successful beyond the most sanguine hopes.

At the *Daily News* sanitarium no less than 15,179 sick babies were cared for and given

a fair physical start in life, while the same number of mothers were received and entertained as well as 46,615 older children. One of the newer provisions for relief in a crowded district is on the little patch of ground in front of the Northwestern University Settlement. Here was maintained by the Relief and Aid Society, with the co-operation of the Visiting Nurses' Association and the Northwestern University Settlement, a tent 44 x 18 feet, which served as a relief station for the sick babies of the neighborhood.

Interesting descriptions are given of the outings enjoyed by the various groups of crippled children, and in addition to the accounts contributed by the social settlements, space is devoted to the work of the Bureau of Charities, Salvation Army, Volunteers, the Forward Movement, the vacant lot vegetable gardens, the Pure Milk Commission, the *Tribune* Free Ice Fund, and the Summer Hosnital the same newspaper maintains. With its pages profusely illustrated by pictures from nearly all these agencies the number should find its way to the attention of all who want to catch a glimpse of the manifold efforts of a great city to make the summer heat more endurable for its unprivileged masses.

A Civic Paper for Colorado

Plans are already under way for a paper in Colorado devoted to the cause of cleaning up the politics of that state and the rooting out of corruption. Mr. James M. Causey, of Denver, a member of the Executive Committee of the State Voters' League, and his associates in that organization are behind the proposition. The motto of the Colorado League is, "A Square Deal for Every Voter," and as *Civic News* of Grand Rapids, Michigan, declares, "the fact that Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of the Denver Juvenile Court, is president of the organization is in itself a guarantee of the broad and sane spirit of the movement it represents."

The objects of the Colorado League are:

1. Honest and efficient men in public office.
2. A law to protect bank depositors with adequate and impartial supervision.
3. An efficient primary law assuring the rights of every voter.
4. Wise legislation for Colorado's welfare through party organizations when possible; independent of them when necessary.

Belmont on Unionism

This bit of frank testimony as to the behaviour of the men who went out during the New York Subway strike is credited to a speech that August Belmont recently made before the New England Civic Federation. And his broad mindedness is indicated in his fair treatment of the trade agreement idea during the course of the same address. The two excerpts follow:

"Referring to the distressing conditions attending the strike on the Interborough company's lines, I want to say publicly, to the honor of the men who went out, that among the twenty-odd individuals now under indictment and facing conviction and imprisonment for forcibly interfering with the operation of the elevated and underground roads, not one was a striker. They were all outsiders, either sympathizers or hoodlums. I maintain that trade agreements afford a practical method toward the establishment of industrial peace, whether in transportation, manufacturing, mining or other industries.

"I am not one of those who would cite an occasional broken contract, either by employer or by labor, as an argument against the trade agreement. Rather would I point to the encouraging record of honorable observances and successful operations as a vindication of the good faith and common sense of both employers and wage earners."

German Emigration

The fact that considerably over 90 per cent of the German emigration goes to the United States, and the marked

decrease of all emigration from Germany compared with what it was a decade ago, are the points of especial interest in the detailed figures furnished by United States Consul Harris, of Mannheim. He says:

"It would appear that the number of emigrants from the Empire to transoceanic points during the year 1904 was 27,984. Of these, 22,018 sailed from the ports of Bremen, Hamburg, and Stettin. Of those emigrating, 26,085 went to the United States. Due, in part, doubtless to the fairly satisfactory industrial conditions in Germany for the past decade, there has been a marked falling off of emigration from the German States as compared with former years. Thus, in the ten years from 1885 to 1894, the number of emigrants varied from 120,089, the highest number in one year, to 40,964, the lowest, while during the decade ending with 1904 the largest number in any one year was 37,488 (1895), and the smallest number was 22,073 (1901). The emigration for the year 1904 is about the average of the decade."

Electric Power from City Garbage and Refuse

There are indications that the question as to whether power can be developed from American mixed city garbage and rubbish is about to be answered.

Contracts have been awarded at Sacramento, California, and at Westmount, Province of Quebec, for the installation of Meldrum patent "Simplex" garbage and refuse destructors, in both places in conjunction with the municipal electric lighting stations. Each of these installations will have a capacity of fifty tons of mixed city waste per twenty-four hours, and will develop steam power equal to the evaporation of three-quarters of a pound of water to each pound of waste consumed. No coal or other fuel will be used.

The plants are guaranteed to consume all waste without objectionable odors or fumes. The temperature to be obtained in the combustion chamber will range between 1,800 degrees and 2,500 degrees Fahrenheit. Each destructor will be provided with a regener-

ator for heating the forced air blast under the ashpits of the furnaces, delivered through the Meldrum patent steam jet blowers.

The Westmount installation will be provided with a 200-hp Babcock & Wilcox boiler, and that at Sacramento with a 150-hp watertube boiler.

The installation at Westmount is being made under the direction of W. F. Morse, 17 Battery Place, New York, American representative of Meldrum Bros., Ltd., of Timperley, England, and that in Sacramento by P. F. Dundon's, San Francisco Iron Works. —*Municipal Journal and Engineer.*

Roosevelt on Bribery

There can be no crime more serious than bribery. Other offenses violate one law while corruption strikes at the foundation of all law. Under our form of government all authority is vested in the people and by them delegated to those who represent them in official capacity. There can be no offense heavier than that of him in whom such a sacred trust has been reposed, who sells it for his own gain and enrichment; and no

less heavy is the offense of the bribe-giver. He is worse than the thief, for the thief robs the individual, while the corrupt official plunders an entire city or state. He is as wicked as the murderer, for the murderer may only take one life against the law, while the corrupt official and the man who corrupts the official alike aim at the assassination of the commonwealth itself. Government of the people, by the people, for the people will perish from the face of the earth if bribery is tolerated. The givers and takers of bribes stand on an evil preeminence of infamy. The exposure and punishment of public corruption is an honor to a nation, not a disgrace. The shame lies in toleration, not in correction. No city or state, still less the nation, can be injured by the enforcement of law. As long as public plunderers, when detected, can find a haven of refuge in any foreign land and avoid punishment, just so long encouragement is given them to continue their practices. If we fail to do all that in us lies to stamp out corruption, we cannot escape our share of responsibility for the guilt. The first requisite of successful self-government is unflinching enforcement of the law and the cutting out of corruption.

Bureau of Civic Co-operation

"Civics" or "Civic Improvement" is the topic suggested by the Bureau of Civic Co-operation for study and discussion by the women's clubs and the many other organizations that will devote much of their time during the season now at hand to questions of civic and social import. As announced in a recent issue of *THE COMMONS*, the purpose of the Bureau is to co-ordinate and bring to bear at the same time, with cumulative force, the practical efforts of all these organizations. Through the powerful influence of a broad educational movement along these lines, combined with definite work in many communities toward the improvement of

local conditions, it is hoped that much may be accomplished by the concentration of public sentiment on one thing at a time.

With this idea in mind the Bureau has mapped out a plan of campaign which it believes will meet both the needs and commendation of the score or more of national bodies, several hundred state organizations, and the some thousands of county and local societies that are directing their attention and efforts toward solving these problems. It is proposed to take up the following topics, month by month, in the order here indicated: Civics (October); Education (November); Household Econo-

mics and Pure Food (December); Civil Service Reform (January); Legislation (February); Industry and Child Labor (March); Forestry and Tree Planting (April); Art (May); Library Extension (June).

Discussing these topics each month THE COMMONS will publish specimen programs for the use of the many clubs, associations and societies interested, including the numerous other organizations not definitely committed to a "reform" policy but which have occasional discussions along civic and educational lines.

The program suggested by the Bureau of Civic Co-operation for October is as follows:

Paper: The Foundation of Civic Improvement: *a* An intelligent constituency, *b*. A local civic policy or program, *c*. A social census or study of the city, *d*. A campaign of education, *e*. Co-operation of all forces including business interests, *f*. Adequate organization, *g*. The enlistment and training of the boys and girls.

Book Review: The American City, D. F. Wilcox; American Municipal Progress, Charles Zueblin.

Report: By a Committee on the Use of Civic Topics by Local Clubs, Classes and Societies.

Application: What Shall We Do: *a*. As a Club? *b*. As Individuals?

Roll Call: Current Civic Events.

Paper: The Study of a Town: *a*. A careful census of organizations and institutions, *b*. The graphic illustration of local history, resources, government and social activities.

Preliminary Report: By a Committee on a Civic Policy or Program for the Town or City.

Symposium: Organization for Neighbor-

hood Improvement Work: *a*. Civic Committee, *b*. Civic Co-operation Council, *c*. School or Neighborhood Association, *d*. Civic Improvement League, *e*. Associations for Special Purposes.

Brief Paper or Symposium: National Civic Organizations and Sources of Information

For the use of such as do not have affiliations with organizations whose interests lead them to use the club or society programs, the following line of personal study and effort is suggested:

PERSONAL PROGRAM.

Read Civic Education, Local Centres of Civic Life and A Program of Civic Effort, in The American City; first chapter on American Municipal Progress; and Survey of Civic Betterment, in *Chautauquan*, Sept. 1905.

Make sure that above books are in your local libraries and suggest that the librarians call attention to those topics.

Buy one of the books—and buy of your local book dealer so as to encourage him in giving attention to books on civic topics.

Suggest that the Civic Progress Programs be used by some class or club.

Divide a blank book into two parts: 1. Give a page to each local club or institution for noting data gathered from time to time, 2. Devote opposite pages to a catalogue of the things "to be or not to be" in your city or neighborhood—the improvements to be sought, and the undesirable things to be changed or avoided.

Invite several neighbors and friends to confer with you regarding the needs of your neighborhood.

Send a communication discussing some phase of the topic for publication in a local newspaper.

The Bureau of Civic Co-operation, 5711 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, through its Secretary, Mr. E. G. Routzahn, will be glad to answer any en-

quiries (accompanied by return postage) asking how to work out details for the above programs, or any questions suggested by these notes.

Settlement Neighborhood Stories

By Graham Taylor

in the Chicago Daily News

"I WAS A STRANGER AND YE TOOK
ME IN."

The mistletoe had not yet blossomed and the holly had not yet reddened. But the white soul and the ruddy heart of a neighbor glowed at the center of a little group standing in the back yard of a lowly cottage across the alley. "What's the matter with this poor woman you've got here?" I asked of the neighbor. "Oh, she's sick and a stranger," the neighbor replied. "This little boy found her late last night crying on the street and this other woman took her into her own room in the tenement nearby and kept her till morning. No one could understand the language she speaks, so they brought her over to me because I am Polish and they thought I could find out something about her."

But the tongue of the stranger was still unknown to us all. So we agreed we must get her into the hospital as soon as possible, for she seemed to be growing worse. The neighbor said she would stand by and make her comfortable while I called the ambulance. The big Irish policeman, who used to stand as tall as a telegraph pole on the corner of Halsted street and Milwaukee avenue sent in his "hurry up" call to the station house from the corner patrol box. But when, after an hour or two,

the ambulance failed to appear, he added urgency to his second summons by putting my far milder version of the situation thus: "Ye better be after sending that ambulance, for the professor is raising the divil all over the ward."

The welcome sound of its gong soon cheered the little group, and away went the sick stranger, as if borne on the strong arms and big heart of the whole great city of Chicago.

That fine sentiment comforted the writer at least. Others of the group seemed to sigh their relief that the stranger would somehow be taken care of by others. Not so the neighbor. For she followed the sick one through the hospital to her convalescence, found who and where her friends were and never left her until she landed her safely in their care. And thus the poor soul who had been purposely deserted at night in a part of the city where her tongue and even her name would not be understood was safely at home once more.

A FRIGHTENED RUN FOR HOME.

About 10 o'clock one dark night a young girl was seen running in a frightened way up the avenue from the lonesome business end of it. Some street boys ran after her to see what was the matter, only to scare her into wilder

flight. When stopped she stood paralyzed with fear. But when one of the young women of the settlement came out to see what she could do the girl at once seemed to take shelter and regain self-possession under her kindly presence. She, too, was a stranger who had got lost on her way home on one of the first evenings that she had worked downtown overtime. Her Russian tongue could aid her little in this part of the city in finding her way home. But after a while we guessed that her folks lived farther west on Milwaukee avenue.

So with her new-found protector we took a cable car. At first all was as strange as it had been to our stranger. But after a while she evidently began to

recognize some features of the thoroughfare. All at once she sprang to her feet, pointed to a house, jumped from the car as soon as we could stop it, ran like a deer far ahead of us up a tenement house stairway, and before we had climbed one flight had brought her Russian father to meet and greet us. Into the cozy little family sitting room we were welcomed. The English-Russian dictionary was brought from the shelf. The eager hearts on both sides found themselves all too slow of speech in pointing out the meaning of one in the language of the other. But such a transformation scene from struggle to peace, from terror to delight, from family distraction to home rest, will never be forgotten.

From Social Settlement Centers

South Park Settlement, San Francisco

The South Park Settlement has a boys' club that has a good record for earning their summer outings. This season they camped at Mountain View, California, under a village government of their own, while picking apricots. They not only earned the cost of their living but the entire expense of their outing, which included a trip to the Yosemite after harvest. They were a proud lot of citizens when they registered at one of the camps in the valley through which they walked. The camp guests greatly enjoyed their bright answers to questions about politics, labor, and the news boys' problems in San Francisco.

Chicago Commons

The work of the twelfth indoor season begins with renovated rooms, the residents' household full, and a schedule crowding every foot of space and every day of the week. As there are no rooms available for the exclusive use of any single branch of the work, excepting the Men's Community

Club, space is greatly needed to devote to a reading room for the public library. The business office of THE COMMONS has been removed from the settlement building to the center of the city, to Room 1001 Monadnock Building, though its editorial work will be done under the old roof. Friends of CHICAGO COMMONS should bestir themselves to utilize its adjoining building lot for a club house to accommodate the boys' clubs, groups of American, Italian and Greek men, who would form clubs, if we had space for them, and proper accommodations for the Day Nursery, which its little folks have never yet had.

To the many co-operating agencies putting our building to public use, the Visiting Nurses Association is added this Fall. Their District Nurse, who has always co-operated with the settlement, will now make this her headquarters, and will receive orders for calls here.—The warden has been appointed by the Governor of Illinois, one of fifteen citizens to represent the state in the convention charged with formulating a new charter for the city of Chicago, which is to be granted by the next legislature.

A *Chicago Commons* news letter will be mailed every three months hereafter, beginning this month, to all contributors and other friends of the settlement, whose addresses we have or may receive. The first one contains a little sketch of our summer work and the announcement to our neighbors of this twelfth season's appointments.

Kingsley House, New Orleans

Its Activities During the Fever Epidemic

The great service rendered by Kingsley House throughout the fight against yellow fever in New Orleans was manifest both in prompt precautionary measures and a successful effort to keep the life of the neighborhood as normal as possible, thus preventing the people from becoming panic stricken. How this was accomplished is told in a recent number of *Charities* as follows:

"Settlement workers will be interested in knowing the part played in the fever situation by the residents of Kingsley House. The neighborhood, though in some respects as ill-conditioned as any in the city, has been fortunate in having but a few scattering cases. How much the prompt action of the Kingsley House Women's Club had to do with this, can only be surmised, but upon the first declaration of the presence of fever, a called meeting was held, and each one present pledged herself to oil her own cistern, gutter and vault, and make a house to house canvass of her entire block in order to get the co-operation of her neighbors. On the following Friday night thirty blocks were reported canvassed—reports which were, many of them, rich in their description of the reception which these self-constituted workers met with at some hands. But more co-operation was forthcoming than had been expected. To the credit of the neighborhood, the swearing and "roasting" was not in the majority.

"Miss McMain has felt that the best thing Kingsley House could do for the district in the present situation, was to help keep the neighborhood life as normal as possible, for nothing is so demoralizing as the panic that often seizes upon people in the presence of the scourge. The physicians declared there was no danger in assembling together, so the house continued the vacation school which

is the pioneer of its kind in the South. Three open-air concerts have been held in the playground, with from a thousand to fifteen hundred in attendance; the library has been kept open all the time and the Women's Club and the Golden Rule Social Club have met regularly each week. The playground has been thronged with children every evening, many of the mothers and fathers coming, also, to sit on the benches and watch the little ones—all this in spite of the fact that the number of residents was limited during the summer to two and one of these, Miss Woods, was called away a fortnight ago to care for her brother who was stricken with the fever.

"It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that in one of the issues of *The Picayune* Miss McMain was called the mayor of this section of New Orleans. But forsooth, there was still another mayor in the district—that of Onward City, as the vacation school was called—and in keeping with the spirit of the times, mayor and ward officers were indefatigable in the cleanliness with which they cleared up their model town.

"That the workers succeeded pretty well in maintaining a normal tone even while the fever was at its height was evidenced by the variety of happenings which made up the closing exercises of the school,—Irish, Dutch, and Italian songs in costume by children of those nationalities; athletic games; an address by the very young woman who was commissioner of public works on the duty of the citizen towards "a piece of trash" work from the kitchen, the sewing classes, and the picking up of it himself; samples of the basket-workers, etc. One room was decorated with a canopy of wisteria made by the needle-work class. Prominent also was Miss Raffia Kingsley, a raffia work doll, with red sun bonnet and apron and white dress. She had been a missionary in Madagascar, so it was rumored, and had come to live with the citizens of the ward, which was of course responsible for the great excitement regarding her. One (1) cent was charged to see Miss Raffia."

Association House, Chicago

The corner stone of the new building now being erected on West North avenue for Association Home Settlement was laid on

the afternoon of Saturday, September ninth.

The work will be pushed as expeditiously as possible; it is hoped that the building will be completed by Christmas.

Fully \$40,000 will be expended in the building and its equipment, \$27,000 of which has already been pledged.

The new structure will be built of brick; frontage 85 feet, depth 120 feet. In the basement there will be a men's club room, game rooms, and rooms for manual training, printing, weaving, milk station, etc. It will

Dr. J. G. K. McClure, Dr. J. A. Vance and others.

Much neighborhood interest was manifested, fully 600 persons being present.

College Settlement, Philadelphia

From a recent news bulletin issued at this center we clip the following, which affords interesting side-lights on settlement work and has been very suggestively entitled, "Points of Contact: Possibilities:"



The New Building for Association House

also contain shower baths and lockers connecting with the boys' gymnasium on the first floor. The other first floor rooms consist of reading and club rooms, a reception hall with adjoining office and dining room.

On the second floor will be located the girls' gymnasium, with baths and lockers, women's club rooms and domestic science and art rooms.

The residents' quarters will be on the third floor connecting with a roof garden, which promises to be a novel and attractive feature.

Adjoining the new building is a frame structure, also owned by Association House, which, with certain alterations, will be used for the Kindergarten and other children's work.

The playground farther to the east is also the property of the settlement.

The services on the occasion of the laying of the corner stone were participated in by Miss Jane Addams, Prof. Graham Taylor,

Shap-shot definitions of a Settlement, when collated, show the varied character of its life. A club member remarked one day, "This is a place where I never heard anyone scolded, but the people who come here seem to improve just the same." A man who cared only for the English classes, called it "a place where you learn things off ladies." Two others, of a social turn, named it "a dance house" and "a game house." A boy with a bad record, whose presence was sought at general parties and informal odd-job times said, "it's a place kept by the city to get the boys off'n the streets." An overworked, underfed, dumpy little fellow pronounced it "a good place, where youse gits to picnics and Swarthmore." This is several removes from the spontaneous outburst of the juvenile tough, to whom experience had brought satiety. "That? That's a joint where nothin's doin'." He represents those who come too late into relation with better social influences; he might be—though he is not—one of

a well-known, much-feared gang within the acquaintance of the house. Their leaders were arrested last month, after a particularly vicious hold-up. It has been their custom to beat and rob old men and drunken sailors along the river front. Their connection with us is of the casual sort. Occasional attendance at some social event is the medium of acquaintance with the members of the gang, but many of their family names are well represented on our rolls by younger brothers and sisters. As younger children, before they were fatally habituated to the strong and evil excitements of street and dance hall and saloon, the house attracted their attention and drew their energy. They not only seek what it offers, but contribute from their club dues to help pay for it. Like a great wedge, the house is thrusting itself, through these families. If there were behind it a greater force of equipment and resource, the point of cleavage would be nearer the base line,—the wedge might lift the family, as a unit, instead of pushing the fragments to one side. The point of attack in one family is the fourth son. He lives with sixteen other souls—his mother takes boarders—in two rooms, his three older brothers are all illiterates and ex-prisoners.

The fourth was arrested, too, before he was ten, but being paroled to a resident, has been taught at the Settlement, to read and write. His theory of writing was that the pencil possesses the volition, and that he must follow it. When he found himself reversing his 3's, he would shout for help, crying in acute distress: "See how she will go! See how she will?" He has been taken indefatigably to schools—to four of them—where his term has ranged between a day and a half at his first, to six months at his last. At first he was pried from beneath beds by residents, for whom his mother sent, because she couldn't loosen him herself. He steals now, but at lengthening intervals, and is honest over a widening area, the center of which is the Settlement.

The prognosis of his case is good; his older brothers are hopeful, and "give him lickins" whenever the Settlement methods seem to them too gelatinous, or the penalties over-subjective and sentimental. The outlook for him would be much fairer, of course, if personal effort could be multiplied and intensified, by the comparatively inexpensive mech-

anism of gymnasium, baths and playground. The "brick-fights," and "bottle-fights," formerly characteristic social functions of this boy and his associates, are now almost unknown, as a result of the work of the probation officers resident at the house. But new channels must be dug for that energy, otherwise, as some one said the other day, it will continue to be "a tragic living, even when the funniest things happen. Somebody is always going over the brink and once over threatens to be over forever, there are so few things to pull up by!"

A Social Center in the Country Town

Writing of the possibilities and opportunities in adapting the social settlement idea to life in the country town, Marian Gray well says in *The Congregationalist*:

"One necessity in country districts is a work resembling the social settlement of our cities. Young people in the country need quite as emphatically as those in the city the influence of a social center where the atmosphere would be one of refinement and culture. I know of at least one such. At Bristol Ferry, R. I., is a "Social Studio" built for this purpose, which is most attractive within and without.

"A large room used for assemblies, one end of which is occupied by a small stage, is furnished simply and artistically. Potted plants, a pianola, a huge open fireplace, oil paintings on the walls and a good library—all lend great charm to the big room, which is a delightful retreat for the young people who flock there from adjoining farms. Lectures, readings, musicals and social gatherings are frequently held. Classes in pyrography, drawing, water color painting and raffia are conducted by competent teachers, a nominal fee being charged for instruction.

"Such a social and educational center would be a great gift and open up wonderful privileges and opportunities in the lives of country boys and girls, who, after the day's work, might satisfy a legitimate craving for amusement and society in a more wholesome manner than loafing about the post office or store, retailing petty gossip or engaging in the more dangerous pastime of immature love-making.

Those who have summer homes in the

country might well interest themselves in a work of this character. If the expense of a building could not be met, a few rooms might be rented, simply furnished, and a young man or woman installed therein who would be adapted to the work.

"The other day I read from the pen of a college girl that, 'among all the opportunities which come to the college graduate, the widest possibilities of personal happiness and helpfulness are those of the girl who goes quietly back to her own home.' Surely a large opportunity for helpfulness in the line above indicated presents itself to the college graduate returning to her home in a small country village."

Toynbee Hall, London

Improved housing conditions for London are contemplated by the "Garden Suburb Trust" in which Toynbee residents and friends are very greatly interested. That the scheme is planned on a large scale and with wide possibilities is evident from the following account of it. Like similar enterprises in New York City the project will be conducted with a view to fair return as a business investment. At a small conference during the summer Mrs. Barnett outlined the plans for the "Garden Suburb Trust," and her description of it is taken from a recent issue of *The Toynbee Record*:

Its ideal, so to speak, is to demonstrate that London need not always grow merely by fresh accretions of colorless mean narrow streets, that every suburb need not be a West Ham, that "even business need not inevitably build in rows." Its immediate practical object is to purchase 240 acres bordering on the new Hampstead Heath extension, with the idea of developing it as a building estate, subject to conditions securing to every house on it a liberal allowance of garden and open space. The land will cost £112,000, and the laying out of roads and open spaces £70,000. In addition, though the company will, for the most part, act simply as a model ground landlord, letting the land on building lease, subject to special conditions of open space and quality of houses, it must also have available a fund from which to build "specimen" houses, or to make building loans to small purchasers.

"The number of houses that may be built is limited to eight on each acre; subject to this, houses of all sizes and rentals—including a large number of workmen's cottages—will be built. The whole contemplated capital (£335,000) is to be raised by issuing £125,000 of shares with dividend limited to 5 per cent and £210,000 of 4 per cent debentures. If the scheme succeeds at all, there will remain, from the ground rents, etc., after this interest and limited dividend is paid, a substantial surplus profit, which it is desired to devote to the development of similar Garden Suburbs elsewhere. The scheme is not a charity, but an investment, combining with a fair return on money subscribed, the performance of a most important service to the community. The Garden Suburb Trust is in much the same business position as the various Housing and Industrial Dwellings Trusts, and may claim the same support. Many different valuers agree that the price at which the land is offered to the Trust is a reasonable one. Sir Richard Farrant, managing director of the Artizans' Labourers' and General Dwellings Company, is inclined to think the price a favorable one, and, commenting on the shape and position of the estate (near the new Tube stations), writes that he sees no reason why "after the necessary time which it will require, the scheme should not be one satisfactory not only to the investors, but to the community generally." The one condition is a sufficiency of capital. It is here that the inevitable delay in floating the scheme, owing to Mrs. Barnett's unfortunate illness, is likely to cause most serious difficulty. There could be but little doubt as to the capital contemplated, £335,000, being raised eventually; unfortunately the option to purchase must be taken up by the Trust by September 1, that is to say, by that date sufficient money must have been subscribed or promised to justify the Trust in proceeding. With so short a time at its disposal the Trust needs the strenuous co-operation of everyone who can or will help in any way, either by taking shares personally or by bringing the scheme to the notice of others. There is no time simply to "think about it." Full particulars may be obtained from Mrs. Barnett, Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, E., London."

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Books

Labor Problems

By Thomas Sewall Adams and Helen L. Sumner. A text Book. \$1.75. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Professor Richard T. Ely introduces with a brief preface this work by the assistant professor and honorary fellow in his department of Political Economy in the University of Wisconsin. While keeping well within the limits and preserving the even tenor of the text-book, the authors have also produced a volume, which has a laudable saving value for any working library. It gathers together in convenient brevity and readily accessible order data upon the main issues of the industrial problem from best known, though voluminous sources. Here one finds upon each of the problems treated—woman and child labor, immigration, strikes and boycotts, labor organizations and employers' associations, the agencies of industrial peace, profit sharing, co-operation, industrial education, labor laws, and the material progress of the wage earning classes,—the principal facts and comments of all the chief authorities, such as the twelfth census, bulletins of labor, department reports, the United States Industrial Commission, Booth's and Roundtree's analyses of English Industrial conditions, and the best known and most authoritative books on the subjects treated. The consideration of each topic closes with helpful bibliographical lists and references to volumes and chapters for supplementary readings. These, with the titles in the foot notes, admirably adapt the book for class-room use, and especially for seminar groups, of whom collateral reading and independent inquiry are required. As the authors and the editor concede, the very cursory treatment of some topics in the text may thus be supplemented and more fully connected by the reader.

In attempting to cover so much and such controverted ground, the authors have been discreet and well-balanced, both in what they include and exclude. They are, too, always the teachers, and never merely advocates, although they do not hesitate to pass judgment upon movements, men, and books. An index places its contents at command for reference. The volume is just what it was

intended to be, a tool carefully wrought out to work with.

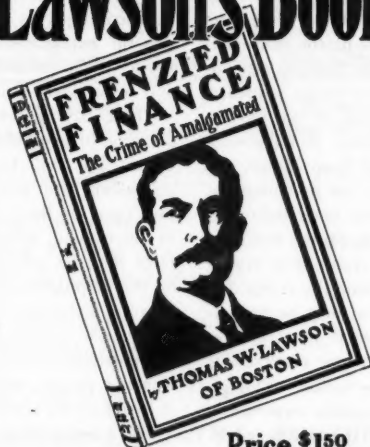
Primitive Trait in Religious Re ?

By Frederick Morgan Davenport, Professor in Sociology in Hamilton College. \$1.50, net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

All that is promised by this attractive and suggestive title is amply and ably fulfilled in the volume. The rich and varied data, furnished by the history of revivals of religion and contemporaneous experiences in "conversion," had already fascinated and employed such psychologists as Stanley Hall, Starbuck, Coe, James, and Baldwin. Its social aspects have attracted only the passing comment of the historians, economists and philosophers of our modern social and industrial evolution. Professor Davenport is the first sociologist to subject the data to the analysis and induction of his science. And it is fortunate for all the very vital interests and far-reaching results involved in such a discussion that it fell at first hand to so patient and competent an investigator. The reverend and religious spirit of the author and his everywhere apparent readiness to take foregranted the reality, and the personal and social value of conversion, as well as the supernatural source to which it may be attributed, places him at the only point of view whence a scientific treatment of this subject can possibly be taken. It also clears the way for the results of his work to reach and influence just those who most need and can make best use of it. For not only can the most suspicious and sensitive of them find no word that unnecessarily appeals to natural prejudice and suspicion, but they should be impressed by the personal and social value, which the author fully recognizes in the confessedly defective methods and crude results at the hand of master workmen. Not to quench but to control emotion, not to beat back, but promote the better ordering of religious feeling is shown to be necessary to religious and social progress.

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psychological treatment already given the data under review, but also to add to its results what came from his application of the principles and methods of the more distinctively social psychology. It may for a time surprise and even bewilder the pastor and evangelist to see the phenomena hitherto attributed in largest part directly to divine influence, interpreted in the new terms of the physiological and social psychologist. But the most intelligently experienced of them cannot fail to appreciate the validity of the psychological accounting for many of the facts they witness. For the sake of the reality and permanence of the religious result they try to promote, they should welcome the sharp distinction drawn between what may be reasonably so considered, and what must clearly be designated as the abnormal excrescences of entirely natural nervous action. Though no essential part of a religious experience, they are not cited against the reality of it. However much they warp and becloud it, they are not taken to destroy or entirely discredit it. Certainly, under the powerful light focused upon such mixed results, it will be easier to discriminate between a genuine religious experience and the effects of nervous excitability, which "may sometimes be the concomitance of such experience, but ought never to be mistaken for it." No one capable of profiting by the sifting of this most sympathetic, yet searching criticism, will be able to excuse himself for being self-deceived, or for deceiving others by indiscriminate judgment. Everyone reverently, not to say honestly, working for the "glory of God" and the good of men, in efforts to evangelize or nurture life into a religious experience, will profit by the author's wise and helpful suggestions of where to begin and end, of what to do and not to risk, of how to avoid prompting evil tendencies, escape their contagion, counteract, deal with, or at least, philosophically abide their devastation, and sift their tares from the wheat to be garnered. Parents and teachers, as well as ministers and revivalists can scarcely lay too deeply to heart the solemn warning against subjecting children to the disastrous strain and reaction of "conversion by suggestion," and the impulsive action prompted by revival methods. On the other hand those hypercritical, much more anti-religiously biased minds, who overlook all the good, while seeing only

the baleful evils in revival phenomena, have much to learn from this scientific inquiry. Their error should be as much discredited as the earnest efforts of religious people should be encouraged by the knowledge that "the general explanation of these facts will be found to be grounded in normal individual and social psychology, and not in pathology."

Those having scientific interest in the application of psychological theory to the ordering of life, will be grateful for having so interesting and accessible a field of observation open to them, for verifying, correcting or developing whatever explanation of the facts may be offered. The clues disclosed by the emphasis laid upon survivals of "the nervous instability, normal to primitive man" are sure to be followed far afield. Students of industrial history, employers of labor, and working people, whose ideals and standards of living are involved, may well be led to bring to bear upon their problems the solution which the author shows must be sought in the rational self-constraint and social control of impulsive action, which is to be found only in a right religious education.

Both the author and the religious world are to be congratulated upon this real and timely addition to the scientific and practical literature of phenomena which are again forcing themselves upon the attention of the church and society. No one at work with the forces of social and religious evolution can afford to ignore the contents of this volume. Those that do, should not fail to be confronted with its warnings, and be helped by its suggestions.

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